



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Further on Gbadolite Angolan Peace Talks

Mobutu Addresses Summit

MB2306142289 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1200 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Speech by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko at the Gbadolite, Zaire summit on 22 June; Mobutu speaks in French, fading into Portuguese translation—recorded]

[Text] Your (?presence) demonstrates the interest of [words indistinct] in finding solutions to our continent's burning issues [words indistinct], and joint action is one of the most important characteristics of our African [words indistinct]

This honor and joy [words indistinct] Moussa Traore, Kenneth Kaunda, and all of you [words indistinct] does not (?invalidate) the fact that this summit must have disturbed the normal discharge of your important duties. I am convinced that history [words indistinct] and (?our basic) solidarity. It is necessary that we consider the aims of this meeting. As you know, this is an extension of the 16 May Luanda summit, which was held at the invitation of our esteemed colleague, Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. We did so within the framework of our search for ways and means to bring peace to Angola and, simultaneously, to [word indistinct] the Namibian independence process on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435, the Brazzaville protocol, and the New York accords.

Thanks to the marked desire for peace expressed by all heads of state, that important summit allowed us to overcome some differences and expand an already promising horizon for a lasting peace in this part of Africa. It also allowed us to define new action [words indistinct] to that end [words indistinct] many among you, brothers, of achieving an agreement.

President Jose Eduardo dos Santos contributed much (?toward that agreement) through letters, [words indistinct] directly or indirectly related to the Angolan (?situation), and efforts whose results are [words indistinct].

Distinguished Presidents: I believe the outcome of this conference offers a solid foundation for our aims, notably the restoration of peace in Angola. It is up to all of us to resolutely seek the achievement of all these aims in order to ensure that the sister people of Angola can finally have peace and harmony as well as the opportunity to dedicate themselves to national reconstruction (?with maturity). Once again, we have proven to the world that Africa's wisdom and solidarity are not just [words indistinct] foreign interference [words indistinct] solutions to the problems facing them.

I hope and wish our work will be successful so that we can attain our aims and bring happiness to the Angolan people and to all African countries.

African Leaders Comment on Agreement

LD2306195689 Paris International Service in French
1245 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Excerpt] A new page in African history has been turned, Moussa Traore, acting Organization of African Unity president, said yesterday evening upon commenting on the first handshake in Gbadolite between Angolan fratricidal enemies and also on the agreement on the ceasefire to take effect midnight tonight. It is historic, said President Bongo, who was present there in Zaire, as were 18 other African heads of state and government who met at the initiative of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko. President Bongo described the famous handshake between Jonas Savimbi and President Eduardo dos Santos as very warm. In the view of the Angolan president, this Gbadolite agreement is, he says, a first step toward peace. The future will tell if it was the right one. We will see shortly what the other reactions in southern Africa and the United States are. We will analyze the weight of this agreement, of course, but right now we will hear the account of our special correspondent, Genevieve Vincent, in Gbadolite:

[Vincent] During a special news conference in Gbadolite a few moments ago President Mobutu, smiling under his ever-present leopardskin, announced that Jonas Savimbi had just left for Jamba. He spend the night here, he explained, before flying to Angola to enforce the ceasefire. A small but significant detail is that the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader now has the right to overfly Angolan territory. Marshal Bobutu also revealed that during yesterday's summit the decision to include UNITA elements in all the mechanisms of the Angolan state had been taken—in the governmental, administrative, diplomatic, and military structures—in fact, everywhere. As for the fate of Jonas Savimbi, the head of the Zairean state specified that Savimbi would not be part of the future Angolan government, but that his men would. With regard to his hypothetical exile in the United States, the reply was firm: It is untrue.

Finally, another important detail: Herman Cohen, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, will be received in Luanda on 7 July. The peace process set in motion seems to be unstoppable from this point on. [passage omitted]

Savimbi Said Not To Join Government

AB2306173489 Paris AFP in French 1306 GMT
23 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite, 23 Jun (AFP)—Zairian President Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko today in Gbadolite asserted that elements of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola will be integrated into the Angolan Government organization at all levels, but that Jonas Savimbi "has no intention of joining the government."

In an impromptu news conference held a day after the summit of 18 African heads of state, Mobutu specified that "as a mediator, I have reached the point of integrating UNITA into all the structures of the Angolan state—government, army administration, and all others."

The Zairian head of state also explained that Jonas Savimbi, "who spent the night in Gbadolite, left this morning for Angola to tell his men to implement the cease-fire." This cease-fire with the Angolan regular forces must come into force at midnight today, according to the declaration published yesterday evening at the end of the summit." [quotation marks as received]

As for the fate of UNITA's leader, Marshal Mobutu asserted that "after all, it is problem between Angolans." "He reaffirmed to me again last night that he had no intention of participating in any future government. It is not our duty to tell Angolans or Savimbi what to do and what title should be given to the UNITA leader."

Questioned about his upcoming visit to the United States and the possibility of the U.S. Government establishing diplomatic relations with the Luanda regime, Mr Mobutu said that he is not the one to answer this question. "All I can tell you is that the U.S. under secretary for African affairs, Herman Cohen, will arrive in Luanda on 7 July."

"I believe, he added, that the two sovereign states, the United States and Angola, will discuss this issue of diplomatic relations." [quotation marks as received]

Finally, concerning his role in the national reconciliation process in Angola, the Zairian head of state asserted: "The two sides had confidence in me and have requested me and all my counterparts present yesterday in Gbadolite to follow up the agreement to remove any eventual difficulties which might arise during the process."

Kaunda Discusses Savimbi's Future

*AB2306193889 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program with Robin White]

[Text] The guns should at last fall silent in Angola tomorrow morning after 14 years of civil war. The meeting of 18 African heads of state in Gbadolite, northern Zaire, ended last night with rebel leader Jonas Savimbi shaking hands with President Eduardo dos Santos. A cease-fire has been declared. There will be another meeting soon in Zimbabwe, and commissions are being set up to sort out the fine print. But there is much confusion over Dr Savimbi's future. There has been speculation that he would have to go into exile outside Angola; then President Kaunda of Zambia said after the meeting that had been agreed. But nobody else, including President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, can confirm that. The National Union for the Total Independence of

Angola New York spokesman, Marcos Somondo said that he has spoken to the UNITA representative in Gbadolite today. I asked him if Dr Savimbi would go into exile:

[Begin recording] [Somondo] Absolutely not. He is not going into exile, he has never dreamt of going into exile, and that word, exile, has never even crossed his mind or his lips.

[White] So why is President Kaunda saying that he has agreed to that?

[Somondo] I question President Kaunda's motives, and I was very surprised that Dr Kaunda, who for many years, for over 14 years, has contributed so much to the bloodshed in Angola by siding with the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA], at this point when 18 African heads of state meet together to solve the Angolan problem in a smooth way, he is coming again with a divisive language. If Dr Kaunda is not interested in bringing peace in Angola, he should get out and let those people who are interested in helping the Angolans to carry on the struggle or at least he should let the Angolans to solve their own problems. I do not understand why he is going badmouthing about this whole process which everybody is looking at as very promising indeed.

[White] So what you are saying is that he misheard or what?

[Somondo] I cannot speak for him. [end recording]

This afternoon I spoke to President Kaunda. On the line to Lusaka, I asked him exactly what he thought had been agreed at Gbadolite:

[Begin recording] [Kaunda] We agreed to a number of things yesterday and the agreement, among other things [word indistinct] that tomorrow, 24 June, at midnight a cease-fire will take place. Secondly, there will be an integration of the leadership of UNITA and the MPLA political structures and MPLA authorities will agree to give Dr Jonas Savimbi a post, a rank or post which he will carry when he goes out of Angola on his own volition, his own decision, not forced by anybody. He is going to go out on his own to help cement the agreement. He agreed to [word indistinct] will be done through President Mobutu and the integration will be made by the establishment of a set-up commission which will be examining all these. And again, President Mobutu will be at the center of the all this.

[White] Is that just a private agreement that is between you, President Mobutu, and Dr Savimbi, and nobody else yet knows about it?

[Kaunda] It depends on the [words indistinct].

[White] But Dr Savimbi seems to be vehemently denying this.

[Kaunda] I do not understand that at all. What I know is what I have told you. [words indistinct].

[White] And President Mugabe does not seem to be confirming this either.

[Kaunda] I do not know what he said. Ask Dr Mugabe what he said at the end he would have you to speak. [sentence as heard]

[White] But I understand that at a press conference today, President Mugabe said that Dr Savimbi's future was a matter that still had to be decided.

[Kaunda] I am telling you that the authorities in Angola will decide the rank which Dr Jonas Savimbi would hold. This is true. And that had to be conveyed to President Mobutu and conveyed to Dr Jonas Savimbi.

[White] But you are absolutely certain in your mind that Dr Savimbi has agreed to leave the country.

[Kaunda] I am very clear he has agreed, but we take it as his own decision. We have not forced it on him. It was his own decision [words indistinct].

[White] Do you know where he is likely to go?

[Kaunda] No, I do not know.

[White] Would you accept him in Zambia?

[Kaunda] Yes, if the Angolan authorities have no objection then I would accept him. [end recording]

'Exclusive' Savimbi Interview Noted

MB2406121289 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1045 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi gave an exclusive interview to Mozambican and Zairian journalists. In the interview, Savimbi said his movement went to the Zaire summit with a spirit of openness in order to find a solution to the Angolan conflict. In this context, Jonas Savimbi considers the meeting to have been a success:

[Begin recording] [Savimbi] We think that the meeting was a success for the Angolan people, so that they can end the conflict and begin the process of peace and national reconciliation.

[Unidentified reporter] How long do you think this process of reconciliation and reintegration into Angolan society will take?

[Savimbi] Well, I think that the amount of time involved is not all that important. All we need now is courage. We need a lot of courage to move forward. However, we think that it will not take long. [end recording]

Questioned on his temporary retirement from the Angolan political scene, the UNITA leader dryly stated that the issue had not been discussed. For Savimbi, the results obtained were due to the efforts of various heads of state, particularly the president of Zaire.

[Begin Savimbi recording] Well, first of all, I think that we must thank President Mobutu for his efforts, inasmuch as it is the parties' mutual confidence in President Mobutu Sese Seko that has enabled us to arrive at this situation. We also must praise other heads of state who were present for their actions. However, President Mobutu Sese Seko played the most important role. [end recording]

As for the practical aspects of implementing the agreements reached, Savimbi spoke of the establishment of commissions to soon begin work on the issue of national reconciliation. As for the cease-fire, the UNITA leader thinks that it could be reached on the date set:

[Begin recording] [Savimbi] Well, I think that with regard to the cease-fire, this is a process that has to be put into action. It is not only with a word that everybody stops.

[Reporter] I think that it comes into effect from zero hour (?today)?

[Savimbi] I think we will be in a position to realize it at that time. [end recording]

Mobutu Addresses Press on Agreement

AB2406135389 Dakar PANA in English 1350 GMT
24 Jun 89

[Text] Gbadolite (Zaire), 24 June (AZAP/PANA) UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has reaffirmed his preparedness to adhere strictly to the conditions in the "Gbadolite Declaration", Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko has said.

Mobutu, who hosted the historical summit of 20 African leaders in the north-western Zairian town of Gbadolite on Thursday [22 June] told newsmen on Friday in the town that Savimbi before leaving meeting venue on the same day, gave him (Mobutu) firm assurances.

The Zairian president said that the leader of the anti-Angolan Government group has left for his headquarters in Jamba where he would take all necessary measures to ensure that the cease-fire beginning at midnight on Saturday took effect.

According to Mobutu, the issues in the agreement are the cessation of all hostilities to be manifested in the cease-fire accord, the integration of the UNITA elements at all levels of the state structure and the modalities for the application of the process leading to national reconciliation.

He said that the state structure in which the UNITA elements would be integrated include the administrative, military, economic and social apparatus of state.

At the request of the two parties, supported unanimously by the heads of state at the summit, Mobutu said that he was mandated to continue with the role of mediator to assist the Angolans ensure peace return.

He added that mediation would not be necessary unless there were difficulties and a platform would be set up to enable the parties to overcome such problems, pointing out that such mediation would not involve itself in the details of the repatriation to Luanda.

The future status of Savimbi would only be decided by the Angolans themselves, Mobutu said, adding that it was an internal affairs of the Angolans to "decide what will happen to X or Y".

On the implementation of the peace agreement, he said that a small committee made up of Zairians and representatives of the Angolan Government and the UNITA will be set up on Saturday to oversee the process.

Responding to a question on the possibility of Savimbi going into exile, Mobutu said that this was not at all discussed at the summit, adding that the UNITA leader on his own had announced that he would not be part of the transition government he had proposed. Savimbi also said that he would not take part in the negotiations with the Luanda government, he stated.

"Savimbi categorically told me before living [as received] Gbadolite that even his future status would not depend on the mediation process but would be left to Angola to decide," President Mobutu added.

He said that the late arrival of Savimbi to the summit, where he was expected even before other participants, was due to Savimbi's long flight as he went through South Africa rather than overfly Angola for obvious reasons.

Mobutu also said that he had never received Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Savimbi at the same time, adding that he received the UNITA leader in Gbadolite on 31 May and Dos Santos on 5 June.

The absence of Cote d'Ivoire's President Felix Houphouet-Boigny and Moroccan King Hassan at the summit, he explained, was due to Houphouet-Boigny's old age. He was indisposed when he got the invitation from Zairian Minister for Cooperation Mobutu Nyiwa

and his situation has since not improved well enough to allow him to attend, Mobutu said. King Hassan, he said, had scheduled an ad-hoc-meeting of the Lebanon committee for the same period and this could no longer be re-scheduled at the time the king got the invitation. Mobutu noted that the Moroccan monarch delegated the president of the House of Representatives to represent him at the summit to show his interest.

Kaunda To Seek RSA-Frontline State Talks
*MB2306154489 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia says that he intends to take the initiative and arrange a meeting with Mr de Klerk to discuss the possibility of a meeting of the so-called Frontline States which will include South Africa [RSA]. Speaking in a telephone interview with the SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation], President Kaunda said that such a meeting, however, could take place only after the general election in SWA [South-West Africa]/Namibia in November. The reason for this was that it could be established only after the election whether or not South Africa had fulfilled its obligations to the people of the territory.

Dr Kaunda described as authentic the cease-fire agreement between UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] reached at the African leaders' meeting in Zaire. He said that the agreement was an important step in the peace process in Angola.

The Zambian leader, who attended yesterday's meeting in Gbadolite, said that another meeting would be held in Zimbabwe in August to determine the progress in the talks between UNITA and the MPLA.

Difficulties in ECOWAS Recovery Plan Viewed
*AB2306155489 Dakar PANA in English
1006 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[By Cheik Tidiane Sy]

[Text] Lagos, 23 June (PANA)—The economic recovery programme of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which began in July 1987, has been hindered by three main obstacles. These are the lack of resources coming in from the 16 member states to prosecute the programme, the absence of a follow-up mechanism which is aggravated by the non-inclusion of the main objectives of the programme in national policies and lastly, the poor preparations of most of the projects proposed.

On financing, observers note regrettably the modest mobilisation of resources as attested to by the non-contribution of member countries of their own share of the capital to the "ECOWAS Fund."

Five countries, namely, Cape Verde, Gambia, Liberia, Mali and Mauritania still owe arrears of some 3.5 million US dollars of the 50 million US dollar expected first "tranche" of the capital budgeted since 1978.

Even more disturbing is that no payment has been recorded for the second "tranche" which has also been fixed at 50 million US dollars. This deplorable situation limits the capacity of the fund for mobilisation and participation in the capacity of the economic recovery programme, originally estimated at 920 million US dollars in July 1987 and heavily re-valued five months later at 1.7 billion US dollars.

The high increase resulted from the modifications of the costs of some projects, the integration of four other projects of Cote d'Ivoire and Gambia and inflationary trends.

Sources close to the ECOWAS Secretariat note that the 12th session of the conference of heads of state and governments of ECOWAS, scheduled for 29 to 30 June in Ouagadougou, will call on the member states to pay up their arrears to the fund. The conference will also decide on a programme to restructure the fund and strengthen its procurement of financial resources.

It is expected that in this way, a credible financial fund will emerge and serve as a bank guarantee for some projects as well as convince the capital market to accord new lines of credit to West African countries, even if these countries are involved in implementing economic recovery programmes.

According to an official ECOWAS document, the financial research indicates that about 403 million US dollars has been mobilised. Credit lines of 45 million US dollars have been opened by the African Development Bank and the African Development Fund for industrial and rural development projects.

The Kuwaiti Fund, it was gathered, has accepted to finance at the bilateral level, some rural development projects in Mali and Niger to the tune of 10.4 million US dollars and a telecommunication project in Guinea estimated at 32.6 million US dollars.

In spite of these external commitments, the road is still far from the 1.7 billion US dollars required to implement the programme. As at now the financial situation of the fund remains precarious and all indications are negative.

The other obstacles in the way of the recovery programme, the lack of follow-up, can be explained largely by the non-coordinated approach between the national economic recovery programmes and the Community recovery programme. In addition, ECOWAS Executive Secretary Abass Bundu said in May, at meeting in Dakar,

of the ministers of planning that the member countries did not take sufficient account of the policy measure proposed by the programme in their national recovery policies.

At another level, on the lack of careful preparation of the projects in the programme, it is observed that out of the 134 projects scheduled for implementation, feasibility studies have only been carried out on 54 which are ready for financing. Indeed some of the projects are no more than ideas for which there are not even identification reports.

It is for this reason that during the meeting on the assessment of the recovery programme in Dakar, the ministers of planning adopted the experts' recommendation that projects which have not yet reached a certain stage of development should not figure in national investment programmes. The projects should also be removed from the ECOWAS economic recovery programme.

At the same time, all member states were called upon to make available to the institutions of the Community their short-term investment programmes. Other new projects, if they conform with the criteria for the selection, especially on feasibility studies, could also be accepted.

It was agreed that priority should be accorded to purely regional projects and national projects which have regional impact.

Given these conditions, therefore, it will not be surprising if the 12th session decides to relent on the execution of the recovery programme, originally expected to last three years, and attempt to correct it before it gets too late.

An improved ECOWAS economic recovery programme will be welcomed by the member countries and the institutions of the Community.

It will be recalled that the ECOWAS programme aims at short term reform measures and investment programmes on 136 projects, 40 of which have regional implications while 96 national ones have sub-regional impact.

Officials say, without elaborating, that 23 projects have obtained complete financing, eight have been evaluated for financing, 44 are ready for evaluation and financing while 61 are being studied or merely at the conception stage.

The ECOWAS programme is directed mainly at the rural sector, particularly agriculture and food production, the rehabilitation of physical infrastructures, viable industries and the improvement of the national economy.

De Klerk Continues Talks With European Leaders

Terms Thatcher Talks 'Positive'

MB2306121089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1201 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] London June 23 SAPA—National Party [NP] leader Mr F.W. de Klerk today held a lengthy meeting with the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, which he described as "positive and constructive".

The talks at Number 10 Downing Street were scheduled to last an hour, but Mr de Klerk and Mrs Thatcher carried on talking for another 45 minutes.

"I was received very cordially by the prime minister," Mr de Klerk said in a statement afterwards.

"I was heartened by Prime Minister Thatcher's grasp of the complexities of South Africa.

"We were in full agreement about the need for continued discussion and interaction between the two governments."

Mr de Klerk said he had ample opportunity during the meeting to put forward the views of the South African Government.

The NP said he had also delivered a message from the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, but did not reveal its contents.

"I used the opportunity to state the South African Government's views on future constitutional development, the negotiation process in South Africa, important aspects concerning our economy, as well as the southern African situation and the constructive role South Africa is playing and will continue to play in the region."

Three anti-apartheid demonstrators were arrested as they tried to rush the car carrying Mr de Klerk to his meeting with Mrs Thatcher.

The protestors also threw a can of white paint which splattered his blue Jaguar as he was being driven into Downing Street.

After the two men and a woman were overpowered, police ordered other demonstrators to move further away.

The incident did not appear to ruffle Mr de Klerk.

But Mr de Klerk succeeded in ruffling international journalists who had been invited to a press conference he was supposed to have given at the South African Embassy after the Downing Street meeting.

As his talks with Mrs Thatcher had run on longer than expected, he arrived half-an-hour late for the press conference and informed the journalists that he only had time to read out his short statement before going on to a luncheon meeting with the British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe.

"You've got to be joking," one journalist called out as Mr de Klerk walked out the room.

A small group of anti-apartheid demonstrators picketed the embassy, using loud-speakers to chant slogans such as "White Trash Out" and "Racist, Go Home".

Mr de Klerk's visit to Downing Street provided him with the chance of giving Mrs Thatcher a personal run-down of his plans for "fundamental reform" in South Africa.

Mr Thatcher, who appears to have influenced with Pretoria because of her stand against economic sanctions, is understood to have urged the NP leader to release African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and start constitutional negotiations with the Republic's black majority.

Political commentators in London believe she is keen to secure some evidence of Mr de Klerk's commitment to major reform before the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur in October.

Further on Meeting With Thatcher

MB2306144589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1319 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Excerpts] London- June 23, SAPA—National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk today struck up what Whitehall officials described as a "good relationship" with the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

The officials said Mrs Thatcher was encouraged by her lengthy meeting at Number 10 Downing Street with Mr de Klerk, who gave her a personal run-down on his plans for reform in South Africa.

The talks at Number 10 Downing Street were scheduled to last an hour, but Mr de Klerk and Mrs Thatcher carried on talking for another 45 minutes. [passage omitted]

Mrs Thatcher, who appears to have influence with Pretoria because of her stand against economic sanctions, used today's meeting with Mr de Klerk to urge him to release ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela and start constitutional negotiations with the republic's black majority.

British officials said she stressed the "great importance" her government attaches to Mandela's release.

She noted Mr de Klerk's determination to resolve "the great issues of the day" in South Africa and she expressed the hope that the new opportunities for peace would be grasped. [passage omitted]

Mrs Thatcher's stand against sanctions had left her isolated in the Commonwealth over the South African issue.

When she met the Australian prime minister, Mr Bob Hawke, earlier this week, she reportedly argued that Mr de Klerk and his "new generation" Afrikaner colleagues should be given a chance to show their sincerity about reform. But Mr Hawke is said to have differed with her over sanctions and commented that he did not believe Mr de Klerk would herald a new era in South Africa.

British officials said Mrs Thatcher was keen to maintain contacts with the South African Government and other representative groups so as long as they did not use violence to pursue their political objectives.

Mrs Thatcher has to date kept her distance from the ANC because of its commitment to violence as a means of overthrowing the South African Government.

The officials said Mrs Thatcher told Mr de Klerk she was pleased with the progress that had been made over Namibian independence and the fact that South Africa had honoured its part of the agreement.

De Klerk Tests NP Election Manifesto

*MB2406092989 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR
in English 24 Jun 89 p 2*

[By Patrick Laurence]

[Text] National Party [NP] leader Mr F.W. de Klerk's meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday marked the mid-point in what may be two of the most crucial weeks—if not the most crucial—in his career.

His political future turns in large measure on his hopes of selling a new concept—"concurrent majorities"—to impatient Western leaders and to the listless party faithful at home. Both are thirsting for a new initiative.

Yesterday marked a critical point in the vital first two-week-long "hard sell" drive by Mr de Klerk.

At its core the notion of "concurrent majorities" gives the main "races"—including blacks—a say in central government while reserving an absolute veto for whites.

The countdown for Mr de Klerk and the NP started last Friday [23 June] as top NP officials worked feverishly on the NP election manifesto, due to be released at the NP's special federal congress in Pretoria next week.

The manifesto is pertinent to Mr de Klerk's current tour of Britain and Western Europe. He is too experienced a politician to punt one line to Western leaders abroad and another to voters at home.

Hence the election manifesto serves, as it were, as the selling brochure for the concurrent majority concept at home and abroad.

Implementation of the concept will require the creation of a "general assembly" in which whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks will be represented.

Representatives will be chosen by racial segregated chambers with responsibility for "own affairs".

Whites, coloureds and Indians already have their own chambers in the present tri-racial Parliament. Thus a black chamber will have to be created.

SATURDAY STAR understands, however, that the proposal is not to add a fourth chamber to the present Parliament, but rather to create a physically and politically separate entity.

SATURDAY STAR learns further that, ideally, Mr de Klerk would like to separate the white, coloured and Indian chambers physically and nationally. That would give them same status as the envisaged black chamber.

He may have to abandon that hope, however. Resistance from the coloured and Indian chambers to separation from the central Parliament may be too fierce.

The idea of a general assembly for representatives of all races is not entirely new.

The outgoing Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, alluded to it when he spoke of the possible creation of a single legislature. He made the mistake of saying: "Call it a Parliament if you wish"—thus evoking the image of a single Parliament.

With the Conservative Party smelling blood and licking its lips, Mr de Klerk hastily described Mr Heunis's speech as "exploratory". He was careful, however, not to cut the ground from under his feet. He noted judiciously that Mr Heunis's speech was within the broad parameters of NP policy.

Mr de Klerk seems determined to use the general assembly concept as the basis for a "solution" to South Africa's problems, by wedding it to the notion of concurrent majorities.

Stripped to essentials, that means the general assembly will only be able to take decisions on "general affairs"—"own affairs" will be reserved for the racially separate houses—if representatives of the constituent "races" agree.

Decisions will thus have to be taken on a consensual basis—meaning, in effect, that whites will have the lower of veto.

So, too, of course, will the blacks, coloureds and Indians. But when the general assembly comes into existence, the status quo—which benefits whites most—will be frozen.

Holds 'Friendly' Talks in Portugal

*MB2406133089 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 24 Jun 89*

[Text] F.W. de Klerk has emerged after 1 and ½ hours of constructive and friendly talks with Portugal's Prime Minister Cavaco Silva. The talks were described by the two leaders as constructive and friendly. They covered a wide range of topics. Alan Livovitz reports:

[Livovitz] The prospects for stability in Namibia, Angola, and Mozambique, according to the South African minister, were discussed in detail. De Klerk also said he had conveyed a message from President Botha outlining South African efforts to secure the participation of all his countrymen in government. De Klerk also drew attention to the successful discussions he had had with European leaders so far, and said he looked forward to the next session in Rome tonight. De Klerk's discussions here are presumably continuing at the luncheon he has presently attending in the company of Prime Minister Silva and Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

Further on Portuguese Discussions

*MB2406163989 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 24 Jun 89*

[Text] The leader of the ruling National Party in South Africa, Mr F.W. de Klerk, says the opportunity exists that the isolation of South Africa could be abandoned with positive results for South Africa and the international community. Mr de Klerk, who is also the South African minister of national education, was addressing newsmen in Lisbon after holding talks with the Portuguese prime minister, Mr Nibal Cavaco Silva.

He said he and Mr Cavaco Silva had discussed a wide range of topics, with special emphasis on the situation in southern Africa. Regarding the latest peace initiative in Angola, Mr de Klerk said he and Mr Cavaco Silva had agreed that solutions to the problems of Angola should be found by the Angolans themselves.

On Mozambique, Mr de Klerk said he and the Portuguese prime minister believed that ways should be sought to make that country economically sound. South Africa was playing a positive role in this regard.

On his meetings held with European leaders so far, Mr de Klerk said he had gained the definite impression that there was an understanding of the complexities of South

Africa and southern Africa. He had earlier meetings with the British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

Mr de Klerk noted that there was an atmosphere of honesty in which South Africa could regain its place in the international community with honor and dignity. There was a general acceptance among European leaders that solutions to the problems of Africa should be found in Africa itself.

Mr de Klerk will leave Portugal for Rome later today, where he will hold talks with the Italian minister of foreign affairs, Mr Giulio Andreotti. He will later pay a courtesy call to a high-ranking official of the Vatican, Cardinal Cazarolli. Mr de Klerk returns to South Africa on Tuesday.

De Klerk Notes Kaunda's 'Possible Talks' Offer

*MB1606190489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1831 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] Pretoria June 13 SAPA—The leader of the National Party and minister of national education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said tonight he had taken note of recent reports of possible talks between himself and Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, and had asked the Department of Foreign Affairs to look into the matter "in the usual manner." [passage omitted]

In a statement tonight from the office of Mr de Klerk, the minister said: "I have taken note of these reports and have asked the Department of Foreign Affairs to look into this in the usual manner. It is obvious to determine what exactly is being meant by a meeting (talks).

"Accordingly the matter will be taken up with the state president."

De Klerk Predicts 'Drastic' Constitutional Change

*MB1506053089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2151 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg 14 June SAPA—The government was committed to full participation at all levels by all democratic institutions, and in the months and years ahead would be pouring every ounce of energy into creating a dispensation in which all reasonable people could align themselves against radicalism, the minister of national education, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said tonight.

Mr de Klerk, who as the leader of the National Party is the state president-elect, was speaking at an American Chambers of Commerce banquet. He said the result of the efforts of all people who worked towards mutually acceptable goals would be a totally changed South Africa with a new constitution.

"One of the great tragedies of this decade is the failure of most governments of the free world to exercise a really constructive influence on events in Southern Africa."

He said that while South Africa had committed itself to a reform and development programme of massive proportions, it found itself being rewarded with punitive sanctions and a constant threat of isolation. The reason for this appeared to be that there was a subjective lack of trust as to the real motives and intentions of the South African Government. The government was serious in its objectives and its plans to shape a new South Africa.

"Obviously much remains to be done. We realise that time is of the essence. But we have in our favour a vast reservoir of goodwill—a sincere desire in the hearts and minds of the majority of South Africans to reach a lasting understanding with regard to a new dispensation."

"In the months and years ahead, we will be pouring every ounce of energy available into creating such a dispensation. A new South Africa in which the democratic forces—all reasonable people—align themselves behind mutually acceptable goals and against radicalism, irrespective of where it comes from."

He said any new dispensation had to accommodate the reasonable needs and aspirations arising from the diversity of the South African population.

"How we do it, so as to ensure that it will not be on a discriminatory basis, is the challenge we must face. But face it we must."

Political power had to be shared within common political structures on the basis of joint decision-making in respect of all matters of common concern to all South Africans. A new constitution had to be found which would accommodate the complex realities of South Africa. He said that along with the drastic changes in the constitutional sphere, would go significant changes in the economy.

Says State To Reduce Spending

*MB1506061589 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 0500 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] The minister of national education and the leader of the NP [National Party], Mr F.W. de Klerk, has given the assurance that the government is serious about its intention of reducing state spending to acceptable levels.

Addressing a banquet of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa in Johannesburg last night, he said the state was committed to scaling down its share in the economic life of the country. One of its goals for the years ahead was to play a greater role in the southern African region.

[Begin De Klerk video recording] Faced as we are with daunting problems of our own, we in South Africa nonetheless are deeply aware of the overarching economic unity of the southern African region. There are thus two main strands in our economic vision of the 1990's: nationally, ongoing, freeing, and broadening of

the domestic economy whereby a better foundation is laid for the modernization of our whole society; internationally, on the external, front, we work with our neighbors in rebuilding the natural economic unity of the subcontinent. Internationally speaking, our goal is to normalize the relationships of South Africa with all the countries of the world, with the retention of our dignity. We have a case. We have a cause. We only ask for the opportunity without the restrictions to manifest our will unhampered with deeds. [end video recording]

Pik Botha Praises 'Great Progress' at Gbadolite

*MB2306153089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1507 GMT 23 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 23 SAPA—"Great progress" had been made in talks in Gbadolite, Zaire, on Angolan peace moves, South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha said today. Mr Botha based his views on a report he had received from Gbadolite, a statement said.

"...It was clear that great progress had been accomplished on the road to achieving national reconciliation in Angola," the statement said, adding: "the South African Government has for a long time been striving for peace in Angola and welcomes this new turning point."

"It is clear that President Mobutu Sese Seko played a leading role in this process and that the whole of Africa should note this historical development with appreciation."

"The South African Government has consistently held the view that the problems of Africa should be solved by African leaders themselves. The progress towards national reconciliation in Angola, reached at a summit of African leaders, is an encouraging occurrence."

"It is trusted that the leaders of southern Africa will soon come together to discuss the problems of our region and that the use of violence, where it still occurs, will end," the statement said.

P.W. Botha 'Angry' at 'Rejection' by Party

*MB2306090589 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
21 Jun 89 p 3*

[Text] After months of tension, a piqued President P.W. Botha has made his final break with the National Party [NP] by refusing to attend a farewell gala banquet in his honour.

Clearly angry at the party's rejection of him and his plan to separate the presidency from the leadership of the National Party, Mr Botha has dug in his heels—in spite of attempts to get him to change his mind.

The cancellation of the dinner was announced yesterday by NP leader Mr F.W. de Klerk, who in all likelihood will be Mr Botha's successor as State President.

What has given his refusal special significance is that the banquet date, June 28, eve of the NP's extraordinary federal congress in Pretoria—was arranged in consultation with him.

There has been a large measure of sympathy for Mr Botha in the party since his stroke, but his refusal to attend his own farewell is now being interpreted as a point snub and an attempt to embarrass Mr de Klerk.

Members of the party have expressed regret at his action, which they feel is "unbecoming".

More than a week ago the party was still hoping to persuade him to attend the banquet, and it is understood that Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Mr Barend du Plessis, the Minister of Finance, both close confidants, spoke to him on Friday [17 June]. It was being said yesterday that Mr Botha decided not to attend because he had not been "invited". Another possible reason was that he had "prior commitments"—which contradicts indications that he had been consulted in advance about the date.

Mr Botha refused to attend the last NP parliamentary caucus meeting, at which a presentation was to be made to him, because he had "prior commitments".

He was in fact presenting medal awards on that day.

A few days ago senior members of the party said that if Mr Botha persisted in not wanting to attend the banquet it would have to be dropped. It was suggested however that something else might be arranged for after the elections.

What adds to the significance of Mr Botha's refusal is that the banquet has been called off after discussion with him.

It is also thought that Mr Botha may have taken exception to Mr de Klerk's scheduled visits to Europe for talks with heads of government while not yet South African head of state.

Mr de Klerk said yesterday the party had decided after "discussion with Mr Botha" to drop the idea of taking their leave from him at the congress.

"The federal congress will now focus fully on the party political struggle in the coming election and on the NP's plan of action for the future," Mr de Klerk said.

"In the light of this a banquet will no longer be held and the congress will be fully dealt with on June 29".

Earlier inquiries from the State President's office about Mr Botha's plans for the banquet were met with the terse reply that it was a "party political" matter and nothing further could be said.

AWB's Terreblanche To Run for Rustenburg Seat
MB1506213489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1957 GMT 15 Jun 89

[By Dirk van Zyl]

[Text] Rustenburg June 15 SAPA—The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement - AWB], Mr Eugene Terreblanche, announced tonight that he would be standing as a candidate for parliament in the Rustenburg constituency in the forthcoming general election.

Speaking to an audience of about 600 in a packed town hall, he pleaded for right-wing unity in the same vein as the "left-wing was consolidating itself".

He appealed to the Conservative Party [CP] to stand down for him in Rustenburg, and pleaded that the leader of the HNP [Reformed National Party], Mr Jaap Marais, should also be accorded a safe passage to Parliament.

Mr Terreblanche said he saw no reason why AWB members should not participate in the election with enthusiasm.

He said he also saw no reason why he, as leader of the AWB, should not stand in the "last white election, to fight for my land and people".

He had decided the time had come to take the fight to his opponents in Parliament.

"I do not want to enter party politics, or the CP caucus, but as an independent white man not scared of fighting for his rights".

He said he wished to hear the reaction of Mr Marais, and "of Dr Treurnicht, within seven days".

In answer to a question, he said it was up to the people to decide in what capacity he would stand—either as an independent or a representative of the reactivation of the dormant Blanke Volkstaatsparty [White Boer People's Party].

Dr Treurnicht should be afforded the maximum opportunity to take over the government after the election, through right-wing unity.

He told a questioner at the end of the meeting that, if necessary, he could consider another seat than Rustenburg.

CP's Treurnicht Comments

MB1606115489 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1113 GMT 16 Jun 89

[Text] Pretoria June 16 SAPA—Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terreblanche's announcement of his intention to run for Parliament was a pitiful break from his repeated public undertakings that

the AWB would not get caught up in party politics, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said today. In a statement to SAPA, he said the CP had held Mr Terreblanche to his word, and, on the strength of that, had over the past few months nominated its own candidates, made thousands of new registrations and was well prepared for the September election.

However, he acknowledged that it was the AWB leader's democratic right to fight the Conservative Party in Rustenburg.

Dr Treurnicht said the CP was moving ahead single-mindedly with its intensive election campaign and appealed to all conservative-thinking people to wholeheartedly support its candidate in Rustenburg, Prof Willie Botha.

He said his (Dr Treurnicht's) police of right-wing unity had already taken on status within the ranks of the Conservative Party.

Mr Terreblanche told a 700-strong meeting in Rustenburg last night that he would contest the National Party-held seat in the upcoming election. Amid applause, he said he would either contest the seat in the upcoming election as an independent or as a representative of the AWB's registered political party, the Boere Volkstaat [Boer People's] party.

CP, HNP on Terreblanche Candidacy

MB1806101689 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 17 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Excerpts] The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has made it clear that he will not enter an election pact with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party and that the CP will oppose AWB leader, Mr Eugene Terreblanche in Rustenburg. [passage omitted]

Mr Terreblanche told a 700-strong crowd in Rustenburg that he did not wish the CP to oppose him. He did not want to become involved in party politics or become a member of the CP.

He appealed for Right-wing unity, asking that Dr Treurnicht and the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, should not oppose one another in the Waterberg constituency.

The HNP announced that it would meet today to discuss the "new political situation" surrounding the AWB's entrance into the election battle.

The HNP will decide whether to put up a candidate in Rustenburg. The party's entry into a number of other constituencies is also being considered as result of Mr Terreblanche's announcement.

The HNP has not had any direct negotiation with the AWB, it said.

The HNP announced that it will contest about 24 constituencies in September.

Mr Attie Treurnicht, the younger brother of Dr Andries Treurnicht, will contest Boksburg for the HNP.

Other HNP candidates are: Mr J.J. Ferreira (Bethlehem), Mr N.J. Saunderson (Fauresmith), Mr P.S. Kruger (Heilbron), Mr O.J.F. Hartung (Hercules), Mr J.J. Badenhorst (Kimberley South), Mrs S.R. van Heerden (Maraisburg), Mr A.I.J. van Wyk (Nigel), Mr H.P. de Wet (Port Elizabeth North), Mr P.R. Nel (Pretoria Central), Mr M.H. Potgieter (Venterdorp), Mr J.L. Erasmus (Vryheid), and Mr I.J. Knoetze (Welkom).

CP Sees Candidacy as 'Huge Favor'

MB1806131689 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 18 Jun 89 p 4

[By David Breier, political correspondent]

[Text] Conservative Party strategists believe that Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terreblanche has done them a huge favour by opposing them in Rustenburg. "He has become a millstone around our neck. The more distance between the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging the better," said a senior CP source who asked not to be identified. The CP has been unable to take the initiative against Mr Terreblanche because some of the CP's strongest supports are also AWB members. Every new Terreblanche caper has severely embarrassed the CP by association.

Now the CP is painting him as the "bad guy" of the right wing for supposedly breaking his word that he would not enter party politics.

The CP believes that Mr Terreblanche's decision to oppose them in Rustenburg has demolished a National Party [NP] plan to link the CP with the AWB leader in the runup to the September 6 parliamentary elections.

"We are an intellectual party. We have no room for three-legged swastikas and big revolvers," the CP strategist said. "Conservative English-speaking voters and right-wing Nats are now free to vote for us."

He believed AWB supporters would continue to vote for the CP. But Mr Con Botha, NP information chief, said the CP had to explain why five or six AWB members were in its caucus, including Mr Moolman Mentz MP for Ermelo and Mr Chris de Jager MP for Bethal.

"If the CP claims it welcomes Mr Terreblanche standing against them, then they must say if the AWB members of the party will be expelled or will resign," he said.

Mr Botha said the CP has long closed its eyes to the proliferation of right-wing splinter groups. "For so long have they refused to take a stand on this proliferation, that we knew all along the moment of truth must arise.

"The first signs of a crack in the wall came when Professor Carel Boshoff publicised his ridiculous homeland concept in the north-western Cape. Now there is a second and wider crack."

He said Mr Terreblanche's candidacy would make it easy for the sitting Nat MP, Deputy Minister of National Health Dr Michael Veldman, to retain his seat against the split right-wing vote. Professor Willie Botha, an industrial economist, is standing for the CP.

Terreblanche Begins Campaign

MB1806131589 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 18 Jun 89 p 4

[Text] Eugene Terreblanche [ET] stormed into Rustenburg this week like a bearded bull in an electoral china shop—and the town and district will never be the same. His announcement that he will stand for Parliament in this platinum-mining town has set the scene for one of the most bizarre fights of the general elections. It is early days yet, but it is clear that all parties face a bulldozer campaign from Mr Terreblanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Already a truck with a loudhailer belting out a taped speech by Mr Terreblanche is crisscrossing town, and the promise is of whistlestop tours stopping at every available street corner and hall to breathe hellfire on the cowering voters.

"We fear he may get thousands of votes," one Conservative Party worker admitted this week.

Officially it may only be a three-cornered battle, but below the surface five parties will be in the brawl—broedertwis [fraternal quarrel] to end all broedertwis.

In the 1987 election the Nationalists held the constituency with a majority of 816. The sitting MP, Dr Michael Veldman, Deputy Minister of Health, who polled 6,736 votes against the CP's 5,920, is standing again.

"We are like a sore finger sticking out in a sea of CP constituencies surrounding us," said one NP worker.

Divisional chairman Mr Dieter Kruger says "Terreblanche cannot beat us".

The Conservative Party candidate is Willie Botha, professor of business economics at the University of the North. He is likely to be groomed as the CP's economic spokesman ("They need one desperately," one voter said) and has been pounding the local pavements canvassing for six weeks.

More a lecturer than an orator, Professor Botha has spoken at one public meeting in an atmosphere as polite as an Anglican tea party and has answered economic questions.

Most entertaining at the meeting were CP posters with words like: "Even Red Riding Hood no longer believes the Nats" and "Vasbyt, the Nats have Min Dae" [the Nats have only a little time left]. Professor Botha forecasts that the CP and the Democratic Party will win most votes in the town "because we are both parties that speak frankly, as against the Government's constant doublespeak".

The Herstigte Nasionale Party wants to make a come back in Rustenburg, where it was once a major force. It dwindled after its candidate, Dr Ferdie Ipland, had lost to Dr Veldman when the Supreme Court found the HNP list of signatures carelessly constituted. Dr Ipland, a veterinarian, polled 1,734 votes.

His main support may be among the people of the town's "onderdorp" [slum] the platinum miners of Ward 11 and 12 on the "wrong side of the railway track".

Then there is Mr Terreblanche.

This week Mr Terreblanche threw himself arms, legs, vierkleur [flag] and all into the fray because, he said, "this will be the last white election".

Terreblanche's message, delivered with Churchillian eloquence at a packed meeting on Thursday [22 June], is simple: the Government is capitulating to foreign powers, the ANC [African National Congress] and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization]; whites pay for everything while blacks pay nothing. ET will save you while Dr Treurnicht will be the next State President.

In his enthusiasm to create panic about killings among the elderly and the rape of white women, he verbally tripped at the rally when he said there were "48 murders in South Africa every minute". That would come to 70,000 murders a day and we over 25 million a year sadly wiping all of us out by October next year. The danger of a swing to the AWB was recognised the day after Mr Terreblanche had addressed the cheering faithful: small posters bearing the message "ET GO HOME" appeared in the streets. These obviously came from Conservative Party circles who stand to lose their highest hopes of finally winning the town.

In the same way a powerful campaign by the Democratic Party (which will decide whether to field a candidate on Wednesday) could bring some 2 000 "Linden Factor" voters to their fold, destroying NP hopes and increasing the CP chances of victory.

Through a farrago of defaults, Catch-22 ironies, lying votes and pure luck a vigorous drive by the Democrats could even push their arch-enemy Terreblanche into Parliament and keep themselves out at the same time.

AWB Members Criticize Candidacy

*MB1906201989 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1932 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] Pretoria June 19 SAPA—Unless AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche retracted his decision to stand for Parliament, he would be seen as a person who deliberately set out to break right-wing unity, the former chief secretary of the AWB, Mr W.J. Olivier, and the former editor of the AWB bulletin, Mr C.P. Beyers, said today. In a statement to SAPA, the men said a large group of committed AWB members had found Mr Terreblanche's decision to stand for Parliament in the Rustenburg constituency totally unacceptable. His move clashed directly with the ideals of the AWB and his solemn undertaking to the Conservative Party that the AWB would not tread on party political terrain.

The statement said the present national executive of the AWB was seriously concerned with Mr Terreblanche's intentions to stand in Rustenburg, adding that it would cause further discord among AWB members.

"Such conduct is also contrary to Mr Terreblanche's alleged intentions to preserve right wing unity." His participation in party politics would also undoubtedly result in tension between the AWB and the CP, while donations to the AWB would be wasted in a fruitless election campaign.

"Such undertakings will also play into the hands of the leftist enemies of Afrikanerdom who are busy trying to undermine our newly-found unity."

"Mr Terreblanche is entertaining personal ambitions at the cost of the AWB and Afrikaner unity...."

Terreblanche Said Ineligible To Run

*MB2006053989 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0530 GMT 20 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 20 SAPA—AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche does not qualify as a candidate for Parliament, according to a top legal professor at UNISA [University of South Africa].

Prof Marinus Wiechers, professor of constitutional law at the University of South Africa, said today that according to his interpretation of the relevant legal provisions, Mr Terreblanche did not qualify for nomination.

"The Constitution is quite clear on this point," he said.

"It says that any person who has been convicted of an offence without the option of a fine and who has not been pardoned, or has not had a five-year probationary period in between the end of his sentence and his nomination, may not stand.

"Mr Terreblanche was convicted in 1983 of possession of illegal arms and ammunition and sentenced to 18 months without the option of a fine. The 18 months were suspended for five years, but it is important to note that the suspension does not mean that he does not have the conviction."

Prof Wiechers said it did not matter if the five-year probationary period demanded by the Constitution ran from the end of the 18-month period or if it ran from the end of the five-year suspended sentence.

"Either way, Mr Terreblanche does not qualify."

Several other legal people contacted today could not say exactly when the five-year probationary period would begin, but Prof Wiechers maintained it could not be from date of sentencing.

"This would, in effect, mean that a person sent to prison for four years could, after serving that time, be eligible to stand for parliament within one year of his release."

"This is clearly not the intention of the Constitution, which requires a five-year 'clean' period. This is why I say it does not matter if the probationary period starts from the end of the 18 months or the five years."

DP's Worrall To Meet With Margaret Thatcher

*MB1406113889 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1134 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 14 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] today confirmed co-leader Denis Worrall would be meeting British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other European leaders to discuss developments in South Africa and the DP's perspective on change.

A DP statement said a schedule and details of dates would be made available in due course.

The party was reacting to newspaper speculation today that the DP co-leader would be meeting a number of African and European leaders.

"The successful conclusion of the UN-supervised settlement plan in South-West Africa/Namibia will inevitably place the world spotlight on the resolution of South Africa's internal problems," the statement said.

"The DP is committed to the establishment of a genuine democracy in South Africa and to a society which is free and prosperous. The attitudes and reactions of foreign governments are important in this process, as such governments can either facilitate or hinder the changes we seek.

"The DP is perceived elsewhere in Africa and by many Western governments as an important change agent in South Africa, as was evidenced by the extraordinary degree of interest shown in the result of the recent Linden by-election in the foreign media."

Worrall Terms Intraparty 'Tussles' 'Healthy'
MB1406072089 Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English
12 Jun 89 p 3

[Excerpts] Johannesburg—The number of intense nomination tussles in the Democratic Party [DP] pointed to an extremely healthy situation and there was no question of former IP [Independent Party] and NDM [National Democratic Movement] factions attempting to purge the party of PFP [Progressive Federal Party] influences and candidates, co-leader Mr Denis Worrall said yesterday. [passage omitted]

Dr Worrall said suggestions fierce nomination contests were threatening to divide the newly unified party were "ridiculous."

"The fact that we have lots of candidates of very good calibre is an extremely healthy situation," he said.

The NP [National Party] had nominated three party organisers in safe seats in the Western Cape because they could not find quality candidates—he would be worried if the DP ended up in such a situation, Dr Worrall said.

Treurnicht Returns From Europe, Discusses Talks
MB1006130889 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1244 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg, June 10, SAPA—The Conservative Party [CP] leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, arrived back in South Africa from a visit to Europe today to a rousing welcome by several hundred flag waving supporters.

Dr Treurnicht said his visit had been very successful although he would not name any of the pole he had seen or had talks with overseas. The people he had seen included bankers, government officials and academics. He said he received a friendly and hospitable reception and had been surprised to find an understanding of the concept of the rights of people to sovereignty in the own land areas.

He said reports that he had been snubbed in some countries were "absolutely untrue." He had never sought an interview with Britain prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and he believed it would have been presumptuous to do so because he was not representing the South African Government.

A crowd of about 300 people gathered to meet Dr Treurnicht at Jan Smuts Airport and sang songs including "For He Is a Jolly Good Fellow." People waving the South African flag and the Vierkleur were asked by the police to remove them because flags were not permitted in the airport concourse.

He said he had not tried to sell the idea of apartheid or separate development to countries in Europe because that was not their policy. But he had tried to stress the diversity of people in South Africa and that the only way to prevent domination of [words indistinct] policy of partition.

"I am now convinced more than ever that partition is the only solution for South Africa."

During talks with bankers he gained the impression there were people who were willing to do business with South Africa. They found South Africa an attractive country for investment and would probably be interested in the development of country even under a Conservative Party government.

His visit had been a private one on invitation from certain individuals he did not wish to name.

The object had been to convey to the people of Europe the sincerity of the CP and its people and to put across its point of view.

Dr Treurnicht was unwilling to discuss any deals with the Herstigte Nasionale Party or the AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] for the coming elections.

"This is a matter I am not willing to negotiate at a press conference."

There had been suggestions that a deal may be reached but this was still a matter that had to be worked out later.

Vlok Addresses UK Businessmen on Emergency
MB1506150789 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1457 GMT 15 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 15 SAPA—South Africa might have become as ungovernable as the ANC [African National Congress] intended it to be if it had not been for the emergency regulations, the minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said today.

Addressing a luncheon presented by the South Africa/Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg, he said the police of the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance remained one of indiscriminate terror against defenceless citizens.

"I can assure you unequivocally today that we will apply the powers given to the government and the South African Police with restraint," Mr Vlok said.

"We will apply those powers according to the internationally accepted doctrine of minimum force as we have always done, and as it applies to police forces throughout the world.

"But I can and do assure you equally unequivocally that we will not allow our country to be brought to the verge of what we are now seeing in the capitals of communist China."

Mr Vlok also said, "you know that this government will maintain order, that your investments and your business undertakings, all your possessions are safe here with us."

He thanked the businessmen and the British Government for not bowing to calls for economic sanctions against South Africa.

"By refusing to become part of this campaign, you are also refusing to bring hardship to the black people of South Africa."

Rejects ANC's 'Legitimate' Attacks

*MB1506191089 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1500 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] The minister of law and order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has dismissed African Nationalist Congress [ANC] claims that its terror attacks are part of a legitimate guerrilla warfare campaign.

Mr Vlok told the South Africa-Britain Trade Association in Johannesburg that the ANC-South African Communist Party alliance was attempting to create the impression that its terror attacks were primarily aimed at hard targets. This, he said, was merely a propaganda ploy intended for the international community.

Statistics showed that during the first 5 months of the year, 200 percent more acts of terror were carried out against soft targets than on hard targets.

Exports, Gold to UK Exceed Official Figures

*MB1506101689 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0900 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] South Africa is exporting more to Britain than the trade department in London is admitting. Derek Grant reports that new figures show Britain is by far South Africa's biggest trading partner:

[Grant] THE INDEPENDENT newspaper is reporting that a statistical error at Brussels has revealed that South African exports to Britain are worth six times the official figures given by the trade department. The newspaper says secret imports of South African gold were included accidentally in the European trade figures published by the European Commission recently. They reveal that in 1988 Britain imported about three quarters of South Africa's gold production. Previously it was thought that only 20 percent came to London. The metal involved is called monetary gold that is used mostly by central and reserve banks. Its movements are usually kept secret and not included in trade figures. The antiapartheid movement in London says the new figures show the truth of the extent of Britain's collaboration with South Africa. Spokesman Mike Terry [words indistinct] how vulnerable South Africa would be if gold is sanctioned.

Gold Production Down 2 Percent in May

*MB1506140689 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1356 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 15 SAPA—South African gold production in May declined by just over two per cent compared to April.

In its latest production report, the Chamber of Mines states that 1,579,878 ounces of bullion were produced compared to 1,613,080 ounces in April.

The amount of gold produced for the period January to May was 1.7 per cent lower than the same period last year at 8,019,854 ounces (8,162,519 last year).

Sanctions May Cause Gold-Sales Policy Shift

*MB2606095989 Johannesburg SUNDAY STAR
in English 25 Jun 89 pp 1, 5*

["Finance" section]

[Excerpts] A shift in South Africa's gold-sales policy is on the cards, a development which in part may stem from the danger that anti-apartheid groups will attempt to impose some form of sanctions on South Africa's exports of gold.

In a cautious step towards the relaxation of its tight control over gold sales, the Reserve Bank is reported to be considering the possibility of granting SA [South African] gold producers greater autonomy in the sale and delivery of their own gold.

The proposed changes involve gold mines being allowed to negotiate physical forward sales of gold directly with foreign buyers.

At present such activities are confined to "paper" forward sales because mines cannot physically deliver gold under forward contracts because they are compelled to sell all their gold to the Reserve Bank.

Within 30 days of smelting, gold producers must deliver the raw bars to Rand Refinery for refining into the familiar 99.95-percent pure bullion bars.

Rand Refinery then delivers these bars to the Reserve Bank for export.

Exchange-control regulations are such that those who wish to protect themselves against gold-price fluctuations are allowed to hedge by selling a portion of their production on a forward basis at a price fixed today.

The inability of the mines to deliver the gold means that any such hedging on the futures market constitutes purely paper transactions, whereby the mines offset their selling contracts by subsequently taking positions equal and opposite to the original contracts. [passage omitted]

If gold producers are now allowed to deliver some gold under hedging contracts for their own account, their flexibility will be increased.

In particular, the way will be opened for mines to enter into various gold-backed financial schemes.

The gold mines will gain access to international finance through gold loans under which the mines would borrow gold, sell it for dollars and repay the loans out of future gold production.

The mines could also issue gold-backed paper to foreigners to raise finance.

Whatever the outcome of the current proposals, the mines will not have unlimited scope for selling forward for physical delivery; some limitations will no doubt be imposed.

One of the factors behind the recent fall in the price of gold has been the proliferation of gold loans.

Even so, such a facility would have attractions for the authorities since gold-backed loans would bring extra foreign exchange into the country, and hence boost the foreign-exchange reserves.

It is not difficult to conceive that any scheme to allow the gold mines to sell gold forward on a physical basis could be supported in time by moves to allow the mines to sell gold "spot" on a delivery basis.

Allowing mines to sell gold forward and deliver the metal is one means of circumventing any possible sanctions against South African gold exports, and such circumvention is made even easier if the mines could sell gold themselves on a spot basis.

The attempts by the World Gold Commission and other anti-apartheid bodies to boycott South African gold exports highlights the desirability of diversifying the sales channels.

Under the beleaguered circumstances facing South Africa, it could be advisable to pursue a more flexible and diversified sales policy, and not rely almost solely on the Reserve Bank.

If the marketing skills of the entire gold-mining industry were tapped, bullion sales could be channelled through the central bank, the Chamber of Mines and individual gold mines.

Such arrangements would render gold sanctions all the more difficult to implement, and any moves to allow gold mines to sell gold forward on a physical basis should be seen in this light.

'Growing' 'Pragmatism' in Foreign Ties Noted
MB2606054589 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 0500 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] A growing level of pragmatism is emerging in the official relations of other countries with South Africa. The sanctioners and the rent-a-crowd demonstrators will always be part of the scene, but governments and legislatures are giving more attention to the realities and to the cardinal issues of South Africa. There is still harsh criticism, but the heat of punitive measures is not as fierce as it once was. And of particular importance is that there is greater readiness than in the past to accept the bona fides of the government on its reform program and on its plans for the future.

Important manifestations of this were to be seen last week during the visit to Europe by the leader of the National Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, and in statements by Mr Herman Cohen, who has succeeded Dr Chester Crocker as America's assistant secretary of state for african affairs. Focusing on one of the cardinal issues in South Africa—the need for dialogue between all political constituencies—Mr Cohen made the point that dialogue would not be very constructive if it had to take place in an atmosphere of violence and confrontation. If the state of emergency was lifted, Mr Cohen said, there would have to be a reciprocal move to ensure that political activity would be nonviolent. The importance of dialogue was also raised during Mr de Klerk's visit by, among others, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany.

What is to be discussed and decided in the dialogue process is a matter exclusively for political constituencies inside South Africa, and cannot be dictated by foreign governments. But too many who lay claim to leadership status refuse to join the dialogue process and this is one of the areas where governments with influence can play a constructive role without dictating the South African agenda. Assistant Secretary Cohen said that the United States expected the South African Government to make interesting proposals after the general election in September, and he hoped that black groups would be ready to respond to the proposals. In Europe, Mr de Klerk confirmed that he was committed to renewal and fundamental changes. But, as Mr de Klerk has also pointed out, blueprints on the future must be the outcome of dialogue and negotiation and must not be prescriptive on the part of the government. The first essential step then is for the negotiation process to be joined by all authentic leaders.

On southern Africa, Mr Cohen said that he saw greater efforts in the future at multilateral diplomacy in cooperation with Britain, West Germany, and Portugal. Here again, foreign governments have a constructive role to play in promoting stabilization and cooperation in southern Africa. South Africa has already made tangible contributions in this connection through multilateral

diplomacy, and part of the importance of Mr de Klerk's high-level meetings in Europe last week must be seen as acknowledgment of South Africa's indispensable role in southern Africa. Both in respect of South Africa's role in the subcontinent and in respect of the government's response to the complex nature of South African society, there is a new recognition abroad of present realities—and a willingness to give credit to reform intentions.

Commentary Urges Regional Cooperation

*MB1606192789 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The benefits that flow from a peaceful settlement of disputes between neighbors are already becoming evident in relations between Angola and Namibia.

This week, representatives of the two countries met to agree on plans for cooperative ventures across their borders. Its intended that the Electricity Commission of Namibia will supply power to towns in southern Angola, while the Ruacana hydroelectric scheme, from which water is supplied to Ovambo, will be repaired in a joint technical operation.

This follows earlier moves towards normalizing relations between South Africa and Angola. The Angolan Government recently reached agreement with the giant diamond mining company De Beers for it to prospect for and mine diamonds in the country. De Beers will also take over the international marketing of Angola's entire diamond output. It is expected that the agreement will provide a much-needed boost to Angola's income from diamonds, which already constitute its second biggest source of foreign exchange.

Such joint initiatives between South Africa and other southern African countries have multiplied in recent months. They concern the expansion of trade and tourism and the development of mining, agriculture and industrial projects that will generate more jobs and export income.

Increased ties of this kind represent a welcome move in southern Africa towards a regional block of countries that are prepared to improve their own welfare by cooperating with their neighbors. In Europe, North America, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere, the world is moving closer to the establishment of big trading blocs. Countries outside those blocs will have to cooperate more closely with one another to strengthen their own position. For its own survival, southern Africa needs to cooperate.

ANC Issues Statement Marking 'Soweto Uprising'

*MB1506212889 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2004 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Harare June 15 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] today said the success of uniting South Africans in the fight for democracy will depend on the work of the country's youths.

In a statement issued to mark the 13th anniversary of Soweto uprising by students on 16 June 1976, the National Youth Section of the ANC said there was a high level of commitment to unity of purpose by many anti-apartheid organisations in South Africa.

"June 16, 1989 sees a renewed confidence amongst the people of South Africa, especially its most courageous contingent—the youth. It is also marked by the deeper-rooting of organisations as more activities become adept at operating under the demanding conditions of the state of emergency," the statement said.

"This period is exceptional for the heightened commitment to the unity of all the democratic forces, for a single-minded thrust against the apartheid regime.

"The contribution of the youth of South Africa to these processes of uniting the South African people has been pivotal.

"Our country is relying on the maturity and enthusiasm of the youth to ensure the success of these processes. We have to carry this with fortitude and dignity."

It said youths must continue organising to defeat the apartheid regime.

Cape City Councillors To Meet With ANC

*MB1506073589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0732 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Cape Town June 15 SAPA—A number of Cape Town city councillors will meet representatives of the ANC [African National Congress] at the end of June, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Councillor Frank van der Velde confirmed this morning that he would be one of the delegates attending the conference.

Mr van der Velde said he believed in negotiation with all parties concerned. He did not know who the other delegates were.

A member of the city council executive committee and chairman of the town planning committee, Mr Clive Keegan, this morning refused to comment on reports that he was also a delegates.

Angola

Luanda Broadcasts 'Gbadolite Declaration'

MB2306135889 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese
1200 GMT 23 Jun 89

["Gbadolite Declaration on Angola"—read by announcer]

[Text] At the invitation of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, founding chairman of the Popular Movement for the Revolution and president of the Republic of Zaire, a historic meeting took place in Gbadolite, Zaire on Thursday, 22 June 1989.

His Excellency General Moussa Traore, current chairman of the Organization of African Unity and president of the Republic of Mali; His Excellency Mr Kenneth Kaunda, dean of our central and southern region and president of the Republic of Zambia, were invited to this important conference. Also invited were the leaders of the following countries, presented in alphabetical order: His Excellency Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola; His Excellency Dr Quett Masire, president of the Republic of Botswana; His Excellency Major Pierre Buyoya, president of the Republic of Burundi; His Excellency Paul Biya, president of the Cameroon; His Excellency Mr Aristides Pereira, president of the Republic of Cape Verde; His Excellency Andre Kolingba, president of the Central African Republic; His Excellency General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of the Congo; His Excellency Mr El Hadji Omar Bongo, president of the Gabon; His Excellency Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of Guinea-Bissau; His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco, represented by Mr Ahmed Osman, chairman of the Chamber of Representatives; His Excellency Joaquim Chissano, president of the Republic of Mozambique [as heard]; His Excellency General Ibrahim Babangida, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; His Excellency General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of Rwanda; His Excellency Mr Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of Sao Tome and Principe; His Excellency Mr Idris Abdul Wakil, second vice president of the United Republic of Tanzania and president of Zanzibar; His Excellency Mr Hissein Habre, president of Chad; and His Excellency Mr Robert Mugabe, president of Zimbabwe. This meeting fit within the framework of efforts by the president of the People's Republic of Angola and other African heads of state, notably the president of the People's Republic of the Congo and the president of the Gabonese Republic, in line with the decision made at the 16 May Luanda summit that a second concerted meeting should be held in the Republic of Zaire in August 1989. In the face of positive developments that paved the way for peace and national reconciliation, the presidents of the People's Republic of Angola and of the Republic of Zaire suggested to their African counterparts that the meeting be brought forward to 22 June. At the end of the proceedings, the heads of state meeting at Gbadolite expressed satisfaction and

pride on the great principles aimed at restoring peace and national reconciliation in Angola and favoring the Namibian independence process. Therefore, on the basis of the peace plan presented by the People's Republic of Angola and the proposals made by the head of state of the Republic of Zaire in his mediation efforts, all Angolan brothers agreed on the outlined principles.

The desire of all Angolan daughters and sons to end the war and to proclaim national reconciliation before the world.

The end of all hostilities and the proclamation of a cease-fire to come into effect at midnight on 24 June.

The establishment of a commission responsible for preparing the implementation of this national reconciliation plan under the mediation of the president of the Republic of Zaire.

The heads of state expressed satisfaction with the substantial and rapid progress made in the process for peace and national reconciliation in Angola, which came about thanks to the desire of all Angolan sons and daughters to end many years of civil war and to henceforth turn to the development of this great nation.

To this end, the heads of state hereby congratulated and thanked the president of the Republic of Zaire for his exceptional efforts that have made this historic day possible.

The heads of state expressed satisfaction with the friendly and fraternal atmosphere during the proceedings.

They also agreed to meet again very soon in Zimbabwe to assess the results of this meeting.

Finally, the heads of state expressed their deep gratitude to Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the Republic of Zaire and founding chairman of the People's Movement of the Revolution, for his hospitality and his warm and true African treatment during their stay in the Republic of Zaire. On the occasion, they conveyed a message of friendship, fraternity, and solidarity to the people of Zaire, represented by the Gbadolite (?residents) [words indistinct].

[Issued] Gbadolite, 22 June 1989

UNITA Reports Declaration

MB2406070389 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 24 Jun 89

[UNITA's Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel broadcast the following report in Portuguese, English and French during the 0500 GMT newscast on 24 June]

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola] President General Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi participated in the Gbadolite summit in the

Republic of Zaire on 22 June 1989. Questioned by the international press on his arrival at Gbadolite airport, Dr Savimbi said, and we quote: We have come in the spirit of openness, unquote. The Gbadolite summit, held in light of initiatives to search for peace and national reconciliation in Angola, was attended by 22 countries, 18 of which were represented by their respective heads of state. In addition to our president and supreme commander of the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA, this important conference was also attended by the following heads of state:

1. General Moussa Traore, OAU chairman and president of the Republic of Mali; 2. Kenneth Kaunda, elder statesman of the southern and central African region and president of Zambia; 3. Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; 4. Dr Quett Masire, president of the Republic of Botswana; 5. Major Pierre Buyoya, president of the Republic of Burundi; 6. Paul Biya, president of the Republic of Cameroon; 7. Aristides Pereira, president of the Republic of Cape Verde; 8. General Andre Kolingba, president of the Central African Republic; 9. General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the People's Republic of Congo; 10. El Hadj Omar Bongo, president of the Republic of Gabon; 11. General Joao Bernardo Vieira, president of Guinea Bissau; 12. Joaquim Chissano, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique; 13. General Ibrahim Babangida, president of the Federal Republic of Nigeria; 14. Major General Juvenal Habyarimana, president of the Republic of Rwanda; 15. Manuel Pinto da Costa, president of the Republic of Sao Tome and Principe; 16. Idris Abdul Wakil, second vice president of the Republic of Tanzania and president of Zanzibar; 17. Hissein Habre, president of the Republic of Chad; 18. and Robert Gabriel Mugabe, president of the Republic of Zimbabwe. UNITA President Dr Jonas Savimbi delivered a brilliant speech before the African heads of state that was very much appreciated and loudly applauded.

At the end of the summit's working session, the Gbadolite declaration on Angola was published. It included the following points: 1. The will of all Angolans to end the war and publicly proclaim the need for peace and national reconciliation. 2. The end of all hostilities as well as the proclamation of a cease-fire on all national territory. 3. The establishment of a commission charged with preparing the implementation of the national reconciliation plan under the mediation of the president of the Republic of Zaire. 4. The merit of the summit consisted of the African heads of state recognizing the legitimacy of UNITA and its leader, Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Issue of Cabinda Enclave Not Resolved

AB2306190589 Paris AFP in French 1325 GMT
23 Jun 89

[Excerpts] Libreville, 23 Jun (AFP)—The issue of the Cabinda enclave which was administratively annexed to Angola in 1956 and for the independence of which the

Cabinda Enclave Liberation Front (FLEC) has been fighting, remains in the air after the cease-fire agreement between Luanda and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] was announced yesterday in Gbadolite (Zaire). [passage omitted]

The FLEC, which had splintered into various factions, entered into negotiations with Luanda in 1985—with Luanda suggesting a formula of association awaiting the organization of a referendum for self-determination—which resulted in the signing of a cease-fire agreement.

According to the freedom fighters, this agreement was not respected by Luanda, and the fighting resumed. In May 1989, the various FLEC factions came together and the movement announced the intensification of the "national liberation struggle until Cabinda becomes independent," accusing the Luanda regime of having "accelerated the genocide of the people of Cabinda." It called for the intervention of the United Nations and the OAU to enable the people to express themselves freely.

Jonas Savimbi Returns, Discusses Summit

MB2506070589 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Army General Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, comrade president of our movement and supreme FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] commander, returned to the fatherland yesterday evening, 24 June, after a major victory at Gbadolite. The conqueror of the Angolan people's major victory was welcomed at the airport by many civilians, soldiers, religious and traditional leaders, and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] officials. Shortly after his return, Comrade President Dr Savimbi had this to say to our correspondent.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] We have been honored with victory as a result of your presence at Gbadolite. Could you brief us on all efforts undertaken to achieve peace and national reconciliation in Angola?

[Savimbi] First of all, we would like to thank you for your presence here. Our first delegation led by Dr Jorge Valentim had contacts with an MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] delegation led by Major General Franca Ndalu. What is more, when we arrived in Gbadolite on 22 June, we declared to the world that we went there with a spirit of openness.

We then held talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko. We adjusted our views and presented what we considered would bring genuine peace to the entire Angolan people. We were also honored with the presence of 18 African heads of state and 2 representatives from Morocco and Tanzania who gave us fraternal support and who encouraged all parties to make genuine efforts to restore peace in our country. I can also say that the heads of state approved the agenda that we presented 14 years ago on

restoring peace and national reconciliation by forming a government of national unity. I would also like to emphasize here that despite the understanding that we obtained from the African heads of state, President Chissano's friendship toward us was outstanding.

[Correspondent] Comrade President, do you think that Gbadolite is another Alvor for the Angolan people?

[Savimbi] Well, I would say that there must some adjustments because 14 years have passed since the Alvor meeting. There is now a different spirit and a different situation. However, in essence, I am convinced that our people will be able to obtain what we sought to achieve at Alvor: our people's expression and wish.

[Correspondent] Comrade President, we know that UNITA was recognized in Gbadolite as a legitimate Angolan movement. What could this represent in the Angolan people's struggle?

[Savimbi] First of all, I would also say that it was a great honor for us that His Excellency President Aristides Pereira of Cape Verde officially recognized that we have been fighting for the past 30 years. Likewise, His Excellency President Robert Mugabe said that not only has UNITA been fighting for the past 30 years, but that it also participated in the founding of the OAU. We felt very honored by these statements.

[Correspondent] Comrade President, the Gbadolite summit recognized UNITA as a legitimate movement. We would also like to know whether UNITA maintained its stands after the Gbadolite summit in not accepting clemency, amnesty, and integration.

[Savimbi] Well, I think that the stands adopted by the summit, by the heads of state, are peace, national reconciliation, and a government of national unity. Accordingly, all we would like to say is that these are the stands adopted at the summit and as such we are happy.

[Correspondent] Comrade President, we would also like to know if there is any truth to recent persisting reports in the international media that Comrade President Savimbi would go into exile, which is something that the Angolan people would not accept.

[Savimbi] Well, I wouldn't like to comment on that, because nobody raised that issue. Nobody talked about that, so I see no reason to discuss it.

[Correspondent] After the Gbadolite results, what will UNITA's next steps be?

[Savimbi] We are quickly going to establish our commission that will leave for Kinshasa at the end of next week to continue negotiations with the MPLA commission. This is the summit's decision.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much, Comrade President.

[Savimbi] Thank you. [end recording]

Savimbi To Go to U.S. as Adviser on U.S. Ties
LD2406003189 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese
0000 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] A semiofficial Angolan source this evening told the Luanda correspondent of the LUSA news agency that UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] leader Jonas Savimbi has agreed to go into self-imposed exile for 2 years in the United States where he will be a special adviser to the Angolan Government for relations with the United States.

This report, which has not been confirmed officially, seems to represent the only way to meet the wish of Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to award an honorific title to Savimbi during his temporary retirement.

Savimbi will receive a salary identical to that of Angola's ambassador to the United Nations and will enjoy the same privileges.

An Angolan party source told LUSA's correspondent that Savimbi made no demands during the Zaire summit and had indeed adopted a low profile in the latter part of the meeting. This is believed to have been the reason that led the Angolan president to cordially extend his outstretched hand to seal the end of hostilities between government forces and UNITA guerrillas.

Reports on Exile 'Evil Machinations'

MB2606092289 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0515 GMT 26 Jun 89

[Station commentary: "Gbadolite—A Victory for the Angolan People"; the commentary is broadcast in Portuguese, French, and English]

[Text] The Gbadolite summit, which took place in the Republic of Zaire on 22 June 1989, during which UNITA and the MPLA unequivocally adopted before 18 African heads of the state the compromise of restoring peace and national reconciliation in our country, constitutes an unprecedented event in the annals of modern Africa.

One aspect determining the success of this important event was based on the realistic approach to and correct identification of the essential components of the Angolan problem. It is worth mentioning that holding the Gbadolite summit and having it be a success were only assured with the arrival of Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, our beloved president, and the active and brilliant role he played.

After long and fruitful debates within the spirit of Africa's solidarity and dignity, African leaders adopted a fundamental document entitled The Gbadolite Declaration on Angola. This important declaration outlines great principles, namely peace and national reconciliation, the cessation of all hostilities, and the proclamation of a cease-fire as well as the establishment of a joint UNITA-MPLA commission charged with working out conditions for implementing the national reconciliation plan.

Approached by the international media, the presidents of the Republics of Zaire, Zimbabwe, and Gabon praised the open and constructive spirit that prevailed during the discussions of Angola's civil war. They unequivocally emphasized the principles adopted at the Gbadolite summit, leaving no room for speculation that could downgrade the spirit and the results of the summit, divide the African Continent, and encourage the conflict in Angola. Therefore, it does not surprise us that well-known voices are continuing their delaying tactics, which aim at creating confusion among national and international public opinion by raising problems that were not even raised during the Gbadolite summit.

UNITA President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi played a key role at the Gbadolite summit. Insinuations about the supposed exile of our beloved president are evil machinations of the enemies of peace and national reconciliation in Angola. UNITA is ready to defend the gains the Angolan people achieved at Gbadolite.

Long live peace! Long live national reconciliation! Long live Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, our beloved president!

Commentary Praises Gbadolite Peace Talks

MB2506193889 Luanda Domestic Service in Portuguese 1900 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] The Zairian town of Gbadolite hosted a summit of African heads of state on 22 June to analyze the internal peace plan of the People's Republic of Angola. This meeting took place nearly 2 months earlier than its scheduled time.

In a declaration at the end of the summit, which was attended by 18 heads of state and representatives of another 2 African countries, all the participants expressed satisfaction with the substantive and rapid progress of the peace and national harmonization process in Angola, thanks to the willingness of all the Angolan people to end many years of war.

On the basis of the Angolan peace plan, the warring factions agreed to cease all military activities and to proclaim a cease-fire as of midnight, 24 June. Simultaneously, a commission was created to study ways to implement the Angolan peace plan under the mediation of Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko.

With an effective cessation of hostilities, the process of integrating UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] into Angolan society may begin, in accordance with individual abilities. However, this does not imply any changes in the current fundamental laws of the People's Republic of Angola. It is important to keep the spirit of vigilance alive because we will only be able to say peace has really been attained once the process of integrating all armed elements has been completed and when we all channel our energy into national reconstruction and development efforts.

It is only just to praise the role played by Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in this process [words indistinct]. He always said that once foreign interference ceased, it would be easier for Angolans to find national harmony and peace among themselves. As Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has said, the first step was taken at the Gbadolite summit. It was certainly [words indistinct] step.

Mozambique

Chissano, Savimbi Meet at Kinshasa Airport

MB2306190889 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1745 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Report by Teodosio Mbanze from Beira airport]

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has just arrived in Beira, capital of Sofala Province, where he will stop over before flying on to Maputo. The Mozambican head of state left the village of Gbadolite, where he attended the Angolan peace summit yesterday, at 1215 Mozambican time.

At 1330 Mozambican time, the presidential aircraft landed at Kinshasa airport on a technical stopover. President Joaquim Chissano, who was seen off at Gbadolite airport by Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko, was welcomed by Kithima Bin Ramazani, secretary general of the ruling People's Movement for the Revolution of Zaire.

Thirty minutes after the Mozambican delegation arrived, Dr Jonas Savimbi also arrived at Kinshasa airport from Gbadolite. He was in transit to an unknown destination. As Jonas Savimbi was walking to Kinshasa Airport's VIP lounge, he passed the Mozambican delegation and exchanged greetings as well as a handshake with President Joaquim Chissano. They then held a conversation, which I hope to reproduce more or less verbatim:

Otherwise, would you have remained at Gbadolite, President Chissano asked.

Yes, I am arriving from there now, Jonas Savimbi replied.

If I knew, I would have invited you to join me on this flight so we could have talked, President Chissano said.

Thank you very much, Jonas Savimbi replied.

This was their conversation, more or less verbatim. The diplomatic tone of this dialogue is no surprise. After all, they were in the same room where the Gbadolite summit was held, and President Joaquim Chissano and his counterparts dined with Jonas Savimbi after the meeting. Moreover, during the dinner, the African heads of state and Jonas Savimbi posed for a photograph.

However, the unexpected occurred during the Mozambican presidential aircraft's technical stopover at Kinshasa airport. Jonas Savimbi deigned to speak to the Mozambican journalists accompanying President Joaquim Chissano, and none of our journalists recalls a foreign or Zairian colleague managing an interview with Savimbi. I hereby reproduce verbatim some of the questions and answers from Savimbi's interview:

I asked him: Do you want to comment on the outcome of the Gbadolite summit?

Savimbi replied: Certainly. We believe it was a success for the Angolan people that we were able to end the conflict and begin the peace and national reconciliation process.

Another question: How did you receive the news that President Jose Eduardo dos Santos commuted death sentences for 50 UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] elements on 21 June?

Savimbi said: I believe that everything that is constructive, everything that may lead to peace, is worthy of praise and very interesting.

That is all for now. I have been reporting from Beira, where President Joaquim Alberto Chissano arrived a few minutes ago. The presidential aircraft landed at 1905.

Robert Mugabe Hints at Peace Plan for Nation
MB2306194289 Lusaka Domestic Service in English
1800 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] In Harare, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe hinted that the Mozambican Government could formulate a peace plan to end the civil war with South African-sponsored MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] if the peace program reached between the Angolan Government and the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] succeeded.

Comrade Mugabe told a news conference that the principle used in securing an agreement on ways of ending the Angolan Government's civil war with UNITA deserves the attention of Mozambique. Comrade Mugabe said he hoped the precedent that was being

established in Angola could (?offer) some hope in Mozambique, although the situation, circumstances, and conditions were totally different.

Zimbabwean troops are fighting alongside Mozambicans against MNR bandits who are also waging a reign of terror on Zimbabwe's eastern and northeastern borders.

Government Offers Plan for Talks
MB2406131689 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] With the cease-fire in Angola's civil war still holding after 15 hours, Mozambique's government has come up with a plan to end its civil war. The Mozambican Government has put forward a tentative plan to end the war with the MNR. The Marxist government and the right-wing rebels have been at war since 1975.

Diplomatic sources say the plan sets out for the first time conditions for a possible dialogue with the MNR. The Angolan Marxist government and UNITA rebels have also been at war for 14 years. This week they were reportedly reconciled and agreed on a cease-fire. The details of the Angolan peace plan are not yet clear. There have been conflicting reports of both sides as to what each side is expected to do.

RSA-Sponsored Peace Efforts Noted
MB2506175089 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1730 GMT 25 Jun 89

[Text] Amsterdam June 25 SAPA—South Africa is engaged in secret peace negotiations between the rebel movement Renamo [MNR] and the Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] regime in Mozambique, according to an article by the Dutch journalist Wim Bossema—after a recent visit to the country.

Writing in the Saturday [24 June] edition of the morning daily VOLKSKRANT, Bossema claims that Renamo-leader Afonso Dhlakama is allegedly being pressurised by South Africa to stop fighting, and in turn, has been offered a villa in Durban.

Bossema describes the Mozambican population as desperately impoverished and hungry; the countryside destroyed and uncultivated by years of civil war which he said was fanned by South Africa's supplying food, military training and arms to Renamo. He published detailed interviews with so-called "amnistiados" [amnesty beneficiaries], former Renamo soldiers who accepted the general amnesty from the Mozambican Government early last year.

According to the former Renamo soldiers Artur Naftal Machava and Fernando Sigarette, their comrades—90 per cent of whom were press-ganged into service in the first place—are now deserting in large numbers because they are starving and have a shortage of weapons.

"After the Nkomati Accord between Pretoria and Maputo in 1984, the (arms) deliveries became less and were done more secretly. On Fernando Sigarette's base, no new weapons had arrived for several years and the South African advisors also stayed away. The Renamo soldiers had to capture their weapons from the government army and dug up mines which Frelimo had buried at the Cahora Bassa Dam. South Africa had supplied them with mine detectors," Bossema wrote.

Machava reportedly was in charge of managing one Renamo base where the starving inhabitants sent children on plundering expeditions. Machava kept careful records of Renamo's troop replacements and reported that all the military material, (arms, walkie-talkies,) came from South Africa—by way of a distribution centre in Inhambane.

He and other "amnestiados" also claim the arms for Renamo still came from South Africa until the end of last year (when they had fled), in spite of denials to this effect by the South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Renamo also used child death-squads to do their killing, according to Bossema. About 10 Renamo children, aged between 10 and 16 years, are imprisoned at the Xai Xai military base. They were members of death squads and each killed scores of people.

After a year of forced labour at the military base, they were given amnesty by President Joaquim Chissano.

The situation was at its most desperate right now at Casa Banana in the Gorongosa Nature Reserve, former Renamo headquarters in the early '80s.

The combined Zimbabwean/Mozambican troops captured this bulwark in 1985 and white South Africans allegedly dropped arms and food from aircraft and trained Renamo soldiers; there were also white doctors, nurses and surgeons who arrived in small aircraft.

The area, still held by mostly Zimbabwean troops, is surrounded by Renamo now, and can only be reached with an old Dakota from the Norwegian aid organisation Redd Barna (Save the Children). There are 15 teachers for 4,000 children and people are in the dire need of food. There is only one medic at the field hospital and no medicines.

Chissano Gives News Conference on Angolan Talks
MB2406134989 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese
1100 GMT 24 Jun 89

[News conference by President Joaquim Chissano during a 23 June stopover in Beira on his return to Maputo from the 22 June African heads of state summit in Gbadolite, Zaire—recorded]

[Text] Teodosio Mbanze began by asking the Mozambican head of state:

[Mbanze] Considering the complexity of the Angolan issue and that apparently, at least, the end of the war could not have been foreseen just a few months ago, how do you explain this rapid and satisfactory resolution of the Angolan problem?

[Chissano] Well, I do not know if we can say that the end of the Angolan war could not have been foreseen. We can see that some of the external factors aggravating the Angolan conflict have gradually disappeared. Also, the Angolan Government, President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and other regional leaders made clear efforts to find nonmilitary solutions to restore peace to Angola as quickly as possible.

As you have seen, in addition to meetings among some central African heads of state—Angola is both a central and southern African country—there were also contacts between the Frontline States and the Angolan Government. All those efforts and discussions culminated in the 16 May Luanda summit, which we attended. That summit assigned tasks to all participating heads of state. Efforts continued after 16 May, but the objective conditions were such that there could only be a positive response from all interested and involved parties. Therefore, certain conditions were created. Those conditions included, to be precise, the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 for Namibian independence; the withdrawal of the Cuban troops, which began later, following an accord between the Angolan and Cuban Governments; and the fact that all Angolans involved in the conflict became more aware of existing possibilities for ending the conflict.

All this began long ago. Therefore, to me this is no sudden decision. Obviously, not everything in such a process can be made public, precisely because there is a need to ponder solutions and to eliminate sensitive issues. Sometimes a careless or thoughtless public comment can create difficult situations and hinder a process that could become reality. It can also facilitate alien interference and affect the interests of the people who want to resolve their own problems.

Therefore, I see this event as the result of improved objective conditions. It was the result of combined efforts by the various intervening and interested parties. I add another example: The situation inside South Africa is changing. People are rethinking issues in South Africa. We hope this will continue, and we hope it will be a speedy process. We hope to see some changes in South Africa. This is all related to the talks that culminated in the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435.

[Unidentified correspondent] Does the gradual disappearance of external factors in the Angolan issue mean that countries with some influence over UNITA are happy with the political resolution of the Angolan problem?

[Chissano] I can say that, as far as I know, right now they are part of that resolution, even if they were part of the problem in the past. Today they are part of the solution. The consultations were intense, and all were strongly and positively committed to ensuring Angola's peace. If somebody has been dishonest, it will become apparent later. However, I do not believe there has been any dishonesty. To be frank, I do not think the South Africans will go back on their promises. I do not think they will invade Angola against the wishes of UNITA itself and of the Angolan Government. I do not see that they will (?interfere) in the Angolan people's reconciliation process. UNITA itself wants to see its people enjoy peace. The Angolan Government also wants to see all the Angolan people participate in national reconstruction tasks. The Americans will no longer be interested in supporting a UNITA movement that, in real terms, will disappear with the integration of all current UNITA personnel into a national democratic order, so that it can help develop that national order. It can do so economically, [word indistinct], politically, socially, and culturally.

I do not know if the Americans have accepted or will accept this situation, but everything seems to indicate that the United States is interested in the consolidation of peace in Angola and in a new era of relations with the Angolan Government and people. As I have said, all this has been part of the problem and now, of its solution.

Angola and other countries often complained about President Mobutu Sese Seko, who is president of a neighboring country of Angola. However, he played perhaps the most decisive role in the final stage, from 16 May up to now, to accelerate this resolution which, we hope, will be possible after August, or September at the latest. President Mobutu Sese Seko committed himself with great courage. With support from all of us, he was able to achieve the results that we can say we celebrated yesterday [22 June] when we saw Savimbi and Jose Eduardo dos Santos shake hands. It was an emotionally charged occasion in which we were all able to shake hands with both of them. We also saw that both men were happy.

That is why I say I cannot foresee external factors, at least predictable ones, being obstacles. There may other, future sources of problems, but we must do our best to prevent instability from returning to Angola.

[Unidentified correspondent] [Words indistinct] Dr Jonas Savimbi has said that his guerrillas were not prepared for the start of the cease-fire process tomorrow. Does this not therefore mean that these cease-fire preparations took Jonas Savimbi by surprise?

[Chissano] I do not think so. I do not think so, because from what I heard and from what I understood from Dr Jonas Savimbi's words, facial expression, and emotion, he was filled with patriotic feelings. He seemed to feel that war in Angola had gone on too long and that it

should not be allowed to continue, that the losers were the Angolan people and nobody else, and now that there was no reason to continue there should be reconciliation in the spirit of African and Angolan fraternity, which they managed to do. I believe that if not all, at least the majority of UNITA combatants will accept the cease-fire. What awaits them is very encouraging. They face integration into the political, military, social, and cultural life of their own people. They can do so freely and with equality. They will be in the position to defend their country's economic development, which is essential. That economic development will reduce the reasons for tension. Sometimes we notice these because we are poor and we lack food, so we fight over whatever little bread there is, and so on. They understand that only through work and joint efforts will development, independence, peace, and national reconstruction be consolidated.

[Unidentified correspondent] In one way or another, current events in Angola must have consequences for Mozambique. How does the Mozambican Government think those events will affect us?

[Chissano] Well, I hope that those who fight against the Mozambican Government and people, who carry out civilian massacres and destroy the economy, I hope that those people will examine their consciences today. I hope and believe many of them still have consciences. I hope they will collaborate with the Mozambican Government much in the same manner that UNITA collaborated with the Angolan Government, to help bring about peace so that we can normalize the lives of all Mozambican citizens and allow each of them to participate freely and democratically in a process of economic reconstruction, and even of developing the leadership—in other words, of helping to find a correct leadership for our country's future and ensure greater national unity, economic development, and the consolidation of the Mozambican fatherland, which we are still building.

We do not see any basic contradictions in this. We, the Mozambican Government, are prepared to follow that path. It is enough that they renounce violence and recognize the existing order. This does not mean that the existing order cannot be modified, but that existing order should only be altered by a united Mozambican people. It should not be done through pressure or with support from those whose interests are alien to the Mozambican people's interests, whether they be leftist or otherwise. Only the unity of the Mozambican people will lead to the modifications that the Mozambican people know correspond to their desires. What is wrong today can be amended tomorrow or the day after. History is a development process. (?Nothing can be) absolutely perfect at a given time. If that happens, it will either mean that the world has reached perfection or the world has come to a standstill.

We are for development and evolution. However, this evolution must occur within a framework of order, unity, and progress. It must not be a type of evolution toward

negativity and backwardness. We do not want to go back; we want to move forward. Our people know the difference between progress and regression.

At the moment, we are discussing congress preparations. Who is participating? The people. There are very critical journalists who think of many things. Maybe their criticisms should not be carried out by journalists. Criticism should be the voice of the people. It should not be destructive; rather, it should be constructive. We want to move forward within this order, unity, and harmony.

Therefore, the events in Angola may have some influence in Mozambique. They may draw the attention of those who still believe that nothing is impossible.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr President, what prevented Angolan peace efforts from being made at an OAU summit? I ask this because other, equally or even less complex problems have been dealt with at OAU summits.

[Chissano] Well, as you know, Africa is broken into regions in the OAU: We have northern, central, eastern, southern and western Africa. We have seen that although the OAU is aware of them, some problems are dealt within the context of a specific region. Sometimes, their discussion begins at an OAU summit, and the tendency is to form a commission immediately. Sometimes that is a regional commission, and sometimes it is a wider commission that is continental in character. There are always ways and means of establishing communication.

In this case, there were two preponderant groups at work: the Frontline States and some central African countries. Angola is both a central and southern African country. Because of its experience, the Frontline States became a group which the OAU perceived to be accompanying and guiding the search for solutions to southern African problems. That is what was at the basis of this meeting. We met many times on the Namibian issue. We discussed the UNITA problem together with the Namibian issue. It was the Frontline States that discussed the Namibian issue with the contact group, which was formed by UN members, mainly European countries. It was the Frontline States that discussed the Zimbabwe problem in talks with a group called the Anglo-American group. In any event, that was not important for Angola's case; Namibia was the crucial issue. Angola has borders with the Congo and Zaire. The Congo has a border with Gabon. Therefore, those countries took an interest, as did Zambia and Botswana, which have borders with Namibia and Angola. Well, because South Africa exists [words indistinct] we are there. For central Africa, those countries were important. They dealt with the problem after it had matured. There were exchanges of information, even through the OAU. The OAU discusses many problems. There are exchanges of delegations, special envoys, ambassadors, and so on. Africa accompanies each issue. The OAU chairman follows the issue. The Angolans themselves visited capitals. Therefore, there

were very few countries that were indifferent to these issues. As you know, even Morocco, from northern Africa, participated, because its contribution was important. Ivory Coast and Morocco helped find a resolution to the Angolan problem.

Therefore, it cannot be said that the OAU did not participate. It did, even at the summit level. The next OAU summit will receive a report on this successful event. More than fifty countries, more than fifty heads of state, sometimes do not ease the resolution of such a delicate problem, with all the sensitivities that I mentioned earlier. Despite the fact that they are heads of state, each has his own view on a given problem. Moreover, some are closer than others to the problem. Sometimes they lack certain elements that would help them make more correct judgments. Therefore, it is OAU practice to confine the resolution of problems to certain groups, even if those problems are of universal interest. As you saw, in addition to central African countries, the Frontline States, the Portuguese-speaking African countries, Morocco, Nigeria, and the Ivory Coast were also invited. The Ivory Coast's president must have been unable to come to Gbadolite on that day, but he was invited. From my point of view, it was the OAU. You saw that the Mali head of state, who is also the current OAU chairman, attended the Gbadolite meeting. Both at the opening of the meeting and when he addressed a news conference, he spoke on behalf of the OAU. We had the chairman of the Frontline States, who chaired the meeting of the (?eight) heads of state, and who spoke; and the OAU chairman spoke afterward. Therefore, this was not outside the spirit of the OAU. Everything cannot be resolved within the framework of OAU organs and structures. Look at the Maghreb issue: We all follow it with interest, but it is the Maghreb countries that resolve their own regional problems. Those problems are not just their own. Those problems interest the OAU, and the OAU has discussed those issues many times. However, it was decided that it was more feasible to have only a few voices trying to resolve the problem.

The Chad problem is a different one. It was the OAU itself that appointed a commission. However, the members of that commission are not always bound to meet together. The chairman of that commission takes the initiative. Sometimes he contacts one country, and sometimes another. The Chadian problem is being solved.

In eastern Africa, we have had the Somalian-Ethiopian problem. The solution was found at a most restricted level, after interminable OAU discussions. But consensus was found at a more restricted level, and there was progress toward (?better relations) between those two countries.

We could cite many other examples where solutions were found in the same manner, but the OAU has always followed those processes closely.

[Unidentified correspondent] Thank you very much, Mr President.

Namibia

DTA Officials Mudge, Muyongo on Situation

MB2406140589 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1347 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Oshakati June 24 SAPA—Foreign investors would not invest in a socialist Namibia, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] Chairman Mr Dirk Mudge said today.

"If a socialist government comes to power then investments are out," he told a media briefing at the Mayana camp near Rundu on the banks of the Kavango River, which forms the boundary between Angola and Namibia.

Mr Mudge and senior DTA officials return this week from talks in Europe with Austrian and West German Government officials and were on a report-back tour to their supporters in northern Namibia.

The German Government, he said, had already started an investigation and had people in the country on a fact-finding mission. They were not asked what they wanted to do and how they were going to do it. "They wanted to know from us what we consider to be priorities," Mr Mudge said.

"We can announce they are considering and investigating possibilities to give aid before, but mainly after, independence."

Mr Mudge also said the countries were not prepared to give budgetary aid in the way South Africa had.

He said he was greatly concerned about the high expectations after independence which were being created by political party leaders. There were people who believed Namibia was rich and had only to consider the redistribution of natural resources.

"Nobody seems to be aware of the fact that if we do not develop our human resources, and we cannot get foreign investment we are lost."

Namibia, he said, was not going to be a paradise and "there will be a price for independence".

Turning to election issues the DTA senior vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo, said he was highly perturbed at the way UN police monitors prevented a DTA choir from meeting the party leaders at the airport at Katimamulilo in Caprivi yesterday. The matter was to be reported to the SWA [South-West African] Police and the UN special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari, in Windhoek.

"The UN are not there to occupy, they are here to observe, not to hinder us as far as our movements are concerned."

Asked if he thought UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] was biased against the DTA, Mr Muyongo declined to generalise, adding he believed "certain individuals with the UN troops have ideas against the DTA".

The UN, he said, was in the country to make sure the elections to be held in November were free and fair, not make life difficult for the DTA as "this is our country. They are only here to help."

In a reply to a question on the impartiality of local authorities, including the SWA Police, Mr Mudge said it would be a pity if any official would do anything which was not in the spirit of the agreement.

"We will most definitely not condone any act by any person from any administration" who would do anything which might delay or derail the process.

Complaints should be addressed to the O'Linn commission of inquiry into intimidation and election malpractices, and the courts.

Mr Mudge warned that in the election campaign people would probably make mistakes on both sides and "we have to expect that". He hoped this would not delay the election process.

Mr Muyongo told the briefing he did not want anybody, including South Africa and SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], to interfere with the election spirit in Namibia.

He had seen a number of elections but had "never seen a perfect one".

There were problems from the "other side", like the refugees who were refusing to leave the reception centres.

SWAPO, he said, was using these refugees as a scapegoat to delay the election.

Another question was former SWAPO detainees, released in Angola, who had still not returned.

"Why can't we see even one of them," Mr Muyongo wanted to know.

We should not try and hold our people as hostages for political expediency.

Thousands of DTA supporters in their party's red, white and blue turned out yesterday to hear the leaders at the report-back rally in Caprivi and Kavango. This afternoon the DTA leaders are due to address a large crowd of supporters near Oshakati in Ovambo.

'Shoot the Boers' Chanted at SWAPO Rally
MB2406152989 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1516 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Oshakati June 24 SAPA—The first SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] election rally in Ovambo since a meeting at Oluno was banned eleven years ago, has thrown the northern town of Oshakati into wild excitement today.

Heavily fortified until recently by the SADF [South African Defense Force], today in Oshakati the blue, red and green SWAPO colours were everywhere you looked—and a crowd pleaser on the SWAPO platform led the crowd, chanting: "AK-47, AK-47, AK-47, bazooka. Shoot, shoot, shoot the Boers."

Up to 10,000 people crashed against the wire fence separating them from their leaders, heard his call today. But they also heard their leaders call for peace and "national reconciliation".

There was no sign of Information and Publicity Secretary Hidipo Hamutenya, nor of Foreign Affairs Secretary Theo Ben Gurirab. But SWAPO Education and Culture Secretary Nahas Angula brought apologies from the former director of the UN institute in Lusaka, Mr Hage Geingob, saying he was "busy trying to set up the administration of the elections".

Mr Angula also said that SWAPO President Sam Nujoma's "bag is packed and he is ready to return."

SWAPO acting president, Ntalia Maxuilili, was in Oshakati today however, and had the crowd in stitches as he caricatured the followers of the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance].

Mr Angula also attacked the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance:

"They are not democratic and they are not an alliance. They want to divide the country into groups. They only exist because South Africa exists," he said. But Mr Simon Kaukungwa, who has been in exile for 25 years, called for a spirit of forgiveness. "Forgive the Makakunya (army) for they not what they do," he said.

At one point during the afternoon a scuffle broke out around a man with an army-style hat, but it soon stopped when the leaders shouted for him to be left alone.

Chairman Mr E. Atshipara asked the people to remember Cassinga (Angola), Ondeshefilwa, Ikahenge and the incident at Oshakati First National Bank as examples of "atrocities by the enemy".

Mr Angula called for a minute's silence for "the heroes of our struggle" and Mr Kaukungwa, designated head of SWAPO in the north, congratulated PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] on "bringing the Boers to the negotiating table".

"Now we must wage peace," said Mr Angula.

"That battle in November (the free elections under Resolution 435) will finally kill the enemy," said SWAPO women's council member Dr Teopolina Tweumnar.

Mr Kaukungwa said whoever claimed legitimate rule over the Namibian people should go to the polls.

"We will see you there," he said.

Several speakers emphasized the need for identification papers on election day and the necessity that one be a registered voter.

DTA supporters returning from their rally in Ongwediwa late this afternoon were heckled but unharmed by the throngs of SWAPO along the road through Oshakati.

The two-fingered DTA salute greeted a forest of raised SWAPO fists as Mr Maxuelil's chant sounded over the town: "One Namibia, one nation."

Mr Angula said earlier that Mr Geingob would be visiting the north "very soon". He said Mr Nujoma had handed a new SWAPO flag to Mr Geingob at Luanda airport last Sunday [18 June] as "a symbol of the struggle to take back to Namibia".

Mr Kaukungwa denied allegations that SWAPO was communist and the businesses and personal property would be confiscated by a SWAPO government once it had assumed power. He claimed the support of the Namibian business community: "We won't bite the hand that is now feeding us," he said.

"We are not advocating a one-party state."

Pastor Jonas Mweutota opened the meeting—which began two and a half hours late—with a prayer in Oshiwambo.

"The DTA remembered the students held their commemoration on May 4 (to commemorate the Cassinga deaths of 1978) at Ongwediwa," he told SAPA.

"So they planned their meeting there today to start conflict to show the people we are not together."

He said the reason the SWAPO crowd was in fact separated from the speakers by a high wire fence today was for security reasons. The list of speakers had for the same reason been kept secret until the last moment.

Zambia

Foreign Minister Comments on Gbadolite Summit *MB2406170089 Dakar PANA in English* 1645 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Lusaka, 24 June (PANA)—The significance of the Angolan peace treaty is that for the first time in 14 years the Angola civil war will come to an end as a result of efforts made by Africa itself, Zambia's Foreign Minister Luke Mwananshiku said on Saturday [24 June].

Speaking in a Zambian television programme, Mwananshiku said the agreement reached at Gbadolite in northern Zaire on Thursday was different from the agreement to implement United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibian independence, which was negotiated under the chairmanship of the United States.

The Gbadolite agreement was negotiated entirely by Africans themselves—African leaders from West, North, central and southern Africa.

It is a very, very, significant point, he said. It brings out the potential that Africa has to sort out its problems and Africa, as you know, has many problems.

[Words indistinct] Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, who chaired the historic peace meeting. The term of the agreement included a cease-fire effective from midnight on Saturday and a plan in which the rebel UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces would be re-integrated into the mainstream of Angolan society.

The Zambian foreign minister, who accompanied President Kaunda to Gbadolite, said that the dramatic announcement of the peace plan should not have come as a surprise to the world. He said the 14 years of fighting was a long time with enormous destruction of life in Angola.

I believe it is the view of the government of Angola that they should end the war. They have been looking for an opportunity to bring peace to their country, he said.

Mwananshiku said with the marginalisation of South Africa, which has been supporting UNITA and has now been relegated farther away from the conflict, both sides saw an opportunity for reconciliation. [words indistinct] The results of the peace [words indistinct] rehabilitation of the Benguela railway which runs through the war-ravaged central Angola, linking Zaire and Zambia to the Atlantic Ocean port of Lobito.

In the television interview, Mwananshiku referred to the UNITA leadership and Mr Savimbi, and not as the bandits or the bandit leader, the political terminology that has hitherto been employed in referring to the rebel movement.

Under the Gbadolite agreement, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi will leave Angola for an undisclosed destination until such a time that his services and presence are needed in Angola. The Gbadolite agreement was marked by a handshake between Savimbi and Angolan President Eduardo dos Santos.

Zimbabwe

Editorial Doubts RSA To Reform, End Apartheid *MB2606104589 Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE* in English 2 Jun 89 p 4

[Editorial]

[Text] The recent admission by South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, that his government has conceded that apartheid must end will bring comfort to those in South Africa [RSA] who have the misfortune to be black. It is one thing to admit the error of one's ways, but quite another to reform and compensate for past crimes.

The present situation is rather like a mugger beating his victim while crying: "I'm going to stop this generally recognised anti-social behaviour, tomorrow." There is little comfort in this for the person left bleeding and robbed today.

Those who have had to deal with South Africa over a period of time have learned to be very suspicious of any Nationalist Party pronouncements on reform or promises of political change. Those in power in Pretoria will give away no more than they are forced to by internal dissent or external economic measures and disapproval. Those small, cosmetic changes that have been made in recent years are not the result of a change of political heart or a new moral stance. They are quite simply an attempt to blunt external criticism and dampen internal resistance.

These more flexible policies have been remarkably successful for Pretoria, for there is a detectable softening of international attitudes towards South Africa. There are expressions of sympathy for the Nationalist government, which is now being portrayed as reformist, attempting to lead its country towards full democracy.

Those who believe this are either willing to be duped for their own advantage, or are simply too naive to deal with a sophisticated propaganda machine that has been developed over many years of international opposition. Among those who seem to have been persuaded is a world leader of the stature of Mrs Margaret Thatcher. During her visit to Zimbabwe this year she publicly invited South African minister to visit her when they were in London, but still resisted contact with the ANC [African National Congress], which she said was seeking power through violence. Her brain-washing would seem to have been complete.

The ANC was formed in 1912, and has attempted through dialogue to change South Africa's political system ever since. The lesson of the past few years is that a campaign of violence in South Africa has made concrete gains, internally and externally. If Mrs Thatcher regards the ANC as a terrorist organisation, then she must adopt the same attitude to ZANU(PF) [Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front].

Mrs Thatcher is only one Western leader who seems to be involved in a certain trimming of sails at present, based on promises made by the more enlightened wing of the South African Nationalist Party. To us in Southern Africa this is a dangerous trend, for any relaxation of economic and political pressure will be interpreted by Pretoria as an extension of time during which power can be maintained through a whites-only ballot box.

Even our own government's attitude seems to be undergoing a modification. The first celebration of South Africa's Republic Day in this country since Independence was attended by the Minister of State for National Scholarships, Senator Joseph Culverwell. As a virulent opponent of apartheid, the minister must have realised the significance of his participation, and surely did so with the knowledge of the President and Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Such signals are confusing for those of us who welcome any sign of reform in South Africa, but will not be satisfied by mere declarations of good intentions. If Pretoria believes apartheid is wrong, then let it take the necessary action to bring it to a speedy end. By this we mean not just the heartless petty apartheid that led to the death of a Zimbabwean near Pietersburg because a blacks-only ambulance was not available, but the inclusion of all South Africans in the election of their government.

We believe that despite an apparent willingness to lose sole white power in South Africa, the Nationalist government is far from accepting that black power will be the domination force in South African politics. The pronouncements of Minister Pik Botha need to be read very carefully indeed if one is to understand what he is actually saying.

Until concrete action to eliminate the real apartheid is taken in South Africa, the rest of the world should not move away from policies of disapproval, and economic and sporting isolation. It is these policies, together with the unrest within that country, that have achieved the small gains so far made. The signals to Pretoria need to be firm and consistent, and that also applies to those sent by Zimbabwe.

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